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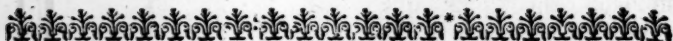
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A  
FOURTH LETTER  
TO A  
PERSON of QUALITY,  
BEING AN  
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
DOCTRINE  
OF THE  
SACRAMENT.

From the PRIMITIVE Times,  
TO THE  
COUNCIL of TRENT;  
SHEWING  
The NOVELTY of  
**Transubstantiation,**  
*Mr. Bellamy.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for Ben. Griffin, and are to be Sold by Randal Taylor,  
near Stationers Hall, 1688.

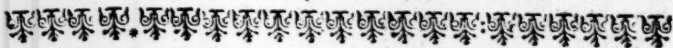


## IMPRIMATUR.

*Liber cui Titulus.* (A Fourth Letter to a Person of  
Quality.)

May 17<sup>th</sup>.  
1688.

H. Maurice R<sup>mo</sup>. in  
Christo P. D. Wil-  
helmo Archiep.  
Cant. à Sacris.





## FOURTH LETTER

TO A

PERSON OF QUALITY;

BEING AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT,

OF THE

DOCTRINE

OF THE

SACRAMENT.

S I R,

**I** HAVE been longer in your Debt than I intended, when I last engaged my Credit to you. I hope now to give you satisfaction in full; but you must not expect Interest to make the payment *swell*, because the thing I am accountable to you for is so Trite and worn, that I think it a kindness to you to make as *short* payment as is possible, because 'twill save you the trouble of Examining a world of

B

small

small quotations, which is worse than the telling of *odd* and *broken* Mony. I promised you an account of the Doctrine of the Holy *Sacrament*; which the Church of *ROME* hath turned at last into the Doctrine of Transubstantiation; By which they mean, that upon the Priests Consecration of the Bread and Wine, the Substance of them is turn'd into Christ's Natural Flesh and Blood, nothing remaining but the Species, and Properties of the Elements; that is, the Smell, the Taste, &c.

This absurd Doctrine being so repugnant to Scripture, to Reason, and to the very Senses of Mankind, their main business is to delude poor People into an Opinion, that it was the sense of the Primitive Churches of Christ. We are desirous to come to a fair *Trial* of this matter, and that I may do my part towards it, I shall endeavour to bring it to a very short issue by this Method.

1. I shall shew you the Faith of the Ancient Churches, from a long Controversie they had with those Hereticks, the *Apollinarians* and *Eutychians*: Which being undeniable and publick matter of *Fact*, will clear up the sense of the Ancients far better than single, broken passages out of the Fathers, which Men of parts know how to interpret to their own advantage.

2. I shall shew you when and how the sense of the Ancient Church came to be *alter'd*, what Progress that alteration *made*, and what strong opposition it met with for several Ages after it began. And by this plain Historical Account, you will easily discern what an *Innovation* the Doctrine of Transubstantiation is.

3. And then I shall give a Summary Answer to those things,

things which the Modern Romanists do urge out of the Fathers, by shewing you the Genuine meaning of them, which they by wresting, or by not understanding them rightly, have used to deceive the world with false Notions.

1. As for the Faith of the Ancient Churches it will soon appear, if you do but observe this *One* thing, and bear it carefully in your mind. About the year of Christ, 370. or a little before, *Apollinarius* Bishop of *Laodicea*, had spread about this Heretical Opinion, that the humanity of Christ was turned and swallowed up into the Deity, so that tho his two Natures were distinct before the Union, yet by and upon the Union, they became one Nature, his humane part being converted or *Transubstantiated* into the Divine, the Properties only and appearance of Humane Body remaining. This indeed was not *all* his Heresie, for he asserted too, that Christ took a Body without a Rational Soul, the Deity supplying the place of it; and several other strange Opinions he held, to the great disturbance of the Church. But it is too notorious to need any proof, that this was part of *Apollinarius* his Heresie, that upon the Union of Christs two Natures, his Manhood was changed into his Divinity, saving only the Properties of it; so that, he was forced to yield, that the Deity was *Circumcised*, and suffered upon the Cross, in the appearance, or (if you will have it in the Language of the Romanists) under the Species of Humane Flesh.

Within the compass of Twenty Years, *Apollinarius* his Heresie was condemned by Three Councils, at *Alexandria*, at *Rome*, and at *Constantinople*. But about Sixty Seven years after, I mean *Anno 448*. it was re-

vived by *Eutyches*, a Presbyter at *Constantinople* whose positive Opinion was, that the two Natures of Christ being United, the substance of the one utterly *ceased*, his Humanity being quite *converted* into his Divinity, so that nothing was left of his Humane Nature, but the *Qualities* and *Accidents*.

This Heresie, begun by *Apollinarius*, and promoted by *Eutyches*, lasted a long time; and 'tis very well worth your Observation, how nearly it *resembles* the Romish Doctrine of Transubstantiation in the Sacrament. For as our Adversaries hold, that the Substance of Bread and Wine is upon Consecration turned into the very Substance of Christ's Flesh and Blood, nothing of them remaining but the Accidents; so the *Apollinarians* and *Eutychians* held, that the Substance of Christ's Humane Nature was, upon its Union, turned into the Substance of his Divinity, nothing of his Humanity remaining but the Qualities and Properties. As *these* hold, that the very Substance of Christ's Body and Blood is received under the Species of Bread and Wine; so *those* Hereticks held, that the very Deity of Christ was Born, and did Grow, Suffer, Dye and Rise again under the Species of Humane Flesh. Or, briefly, that Christ appeared not in the Truth or Substance of Humane Nature, but only in the outward *Form* and *Figure* of a Man; his Humanity being transubstantiated as they presumed into his Divinity, *all* but the Idea of it.

Now among many Arguments which the Ancients used against those Hereticks, some of the Greatest Men in the Church drew *One* Argument from the Doctrine of the Sacrament; and made use of *Our* principle against Transubstantiation, to expose the Heresie of the *Apollinarians* and *Eutychians*; which plainly shews, that

*Vide Histor.  
Council Chal-  
ced. in init. &  
Leonis ep. 17.  
ad Maxim.  
part 3. istius  
Concilii.*

that *Our* Opinion as to the Holy Sacrament, was in those times the *received* Opinion of the Catholick Church.

To prove this particularly : St. *Chrysostome*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, writing to his old Acquaintance *Casarius* to reclaim him from the *Apollinarian* Heresie, into which he had unluckily fallen, among other Arguments he used to convince him, he drew a *parallel* from the *Eucharist* to shew, that Christ had two distinct *Natures* in one *Person*. As, saith he, before *Consecration* we call it *Bread*, but the *Divine* Grace having sanctified it by the *Prayer* of the *Priest*, it is no longer called *Bread*, but is thought worthy to be called the *Lords* *Body*, altho the *Nature* of *Bread* remains in it, and we do not say there be two *Bodies*, but one *Body* of the *Son* ; so here, the *Divine* *Nature* ( of *Christ* ) being joyned to the *Humane*, they both make one *Son* and one *Person*.

You must know, that the *Greek* Copy of this *Epistle* is not yet come to light : Very probably it is suppressed by those, who know how to suppress many things which hurt their Cause, But a *Latin* Copy of it was found in *Archbishop Cranmer's* time in a *Library* at *Florence* by *Peter Martyr*, who brought a *Transcript* of it with him into *England*, and put it into the *Archbishops* *Library*. And this passage in it is such a stabbing blow to the *Doctrine* of *Transubstantiation*, that the *Romanists* have turn'd and twin'd themselves every way to evade the force of it, were it possible.

First they denied this *Epistle* to be St. *Chrysostome's*. But this pretence has been since thrown out of doors by some learned *Doctors* of the *Roman Church* herself.



Stephen Gardiner, that dissembling and Bloudy Bishop of Winchester, being somewhat conscious to himself that this Epistle was *Genuine*, pretended Secondly, that by the Nature of Bread which St. Chrysostome saith remain; he meant not the *Substance*, but the *Accidents* and *Properties* of it: wherein he was followed by Bellarmine and divers others; and this is pretended still by some Popish Writers here in England now. But this is flatly to contradict the plainest and most *natural* expressions in the world. And besides it utterly overthrows the great *design* of St. Chrysostome: for his purpose was to shew *Cesaris*, that the Substance of Christs Humanity remained after its union to the Deity; for this was the thing in dispute with the *Apollinarians*. They owned the *Accidents*, the *Properties*, the *Qualities* of Humanity to remain in Christ, but affirm'd the *substance* of his Humane Nature to be turned into the Deity. So that had St. Chrysostome meant, that the Accidents only of Bread remained in the Sacrament, the example would not have been to the purpose, nor would the Argument have had any force at all, but St. Chrysostome would have proved himself the most weak and impertinent man at reasoning that could be. I will give you the words of a learned and moderate person of the Roman Communion now living, whose Book, I hope, you have by you. St. Chrysostome saith plainly, 'that the Nature of Bread abideth after consecration; and this Fathers Argument would be of no validity, if this Nature of the Bread were nothing but in shew; for Appollinarius might have made another opposite Argument, and say, that indeed it might be said there were two Natures in Jesus Christ, but that the Humane Nature was only in appearance,

as



as the Bread in the Eucharist is, but in shew, and hath only outward and visible Qualities remaining in it, whereby it is termed to be Bread.

One thing more I will observe to you, concerning this Epistle, to shew how injuriously some have dealt with St. *Chrysostome*, and how those men speak against their own Consciences when they tell us, as they have often done, that this great man is on their side, A few years ago the learned Mounseieur *Bigotius* found this Epistle at *Florence*, and Anno 1680. printed it in his Edition of *Palladius* with the best Apology he could make for this passage. But when the Book was now ready to be published, some of the *Sorbon* Doctors fraudulently cut out this Epistle, and *Bigotius* his Preface to it. What an Art is this, first to cut out an Authors Tongue for speaking against them, and yet to pretend that he spake on their behalf? Yet it was not so cunningly done, but that the abuse was complain'd of; and by good Providence the Leaves which were thus shamefully cut out, are lately fallen into the hands of a learned man of our Church, who hath given us a full and particular account of this whole matter, in his excellent *Defence of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England*, to which I refer you for your more ample satisfaction, both as to the Epistle it self, and as to the strength of St. *Chrysostome's* Argument against the *Apollinarians*, which utterly destroys the Doctrine of Transubstantiation.

To go on now with our Historical Account. Our next ancient Writer is *Theodoret*, Bishop of *Cyrus* in *Syria*, a great Man at the Council of *Chalcedon*, Anno 451. and without controversie one of the most learned Men of that Age.

Theo

The Heresie of *Apollinarus* had now been espoused by *Eutyches* of *Constantinople*: *Theodoret* undertook the quarrel and wrote excellently against the *Eutychians* by way of *Dialogue*: and among several other strong Arguments he drew an example from the Holy Eucharist, as *St. Chrysostome* had done before him. I think it is my best way to lay before you that part of the *Dialogue*, which chiefly concerns us, nakedly as it lies in *Theodoret*; only you must remember that 'tis between *Orthodoxus* and *Eranistes*; now *Orthodoxus* personates the Catholick, and *Eranistes* the Heretic; the former held, that Christ had two Natures in one Person; the latter, that his Humane Nature, was absorpt, and substantially changed into his Divinity.

*Theodoret.*  
*Dial. 2.*

*Eran.* It is necessary to turn every stone, as the Proverb is, that Truth may be found, especially in Divine Matters.

*Orthod.* Tell me then; those mystical Symbols which are offered by the Priests ( at the Eucharist ) what are they representations of?

*Eran.* Of the Lords Body and Bloud.

*Orthod.* Of a True, or not of a True Body?

*Eran.* Of a True Body.

*Orthod.* Right; for there must be an Original of a Copy; for even Painters imitate Nature, and draw Pictures of things that are seen.

*Eran.* 'Tis true.

*Orthod.* If then the Divine Mysteries be the Similitudes ( or Figures ) of a True Body, then is the Body of our Lord even now a True Body, not changed into the Nature of the Divinity, but filled with divine Glory.

*Eran.* You have spoken very seasonably of the  
'Di-

'Divine Mysteries ( or Sacrament : ) For I will from  
'thence shew the Conversion of our Lords Body into  
'another Nature : Answer my questions therefore.

' *Orthod.* I will Answer.

' *Eran.* What do you call the Gift that is Offered  
'before the Invocation of the Priest?

' *Orthod.* We are not to speak plainly least some  
'should be here that are not sufficiently instruct-  
'ed.

' *Eran.* Answer then Ænigmatically.

' *Orthod.* I say then, it is Nourishment from *certain*  
'Seeds.

' *Eran.* But how do we call one of the Symbols?

' *Orthod.* Why, it is a common Name that signifies  
'a kind of Drink.

' *Eran.* But what do you call those things after Con-  
'secration?

' *Orthod.* The Body of Christ, and the Blood of  
'Christ.

' *Eran.* And do you believe that you participate  
'of Christ's Body and Blood?

' *Orthod.* Yes, I believe so.

' *Eran.* As then the Symbols of our Lords Body  
'and Blood are other things before the Priests Invoca-  
'tion, but after Invocation are changed, and become  
'other things; even so was the Lords Body after its  
'Assumption changed into the Divine Substance.

' *Orthod.* You are taken in the Nets, which you your  
'self have made; for the Mystical Symbols do not  
'in any wise pass out of their own Nature; no not  
'after Consecration; for they remain in their own  
'former Substance, and figure, and kind, and are to be  
'Seen and Touched as they were before.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ  
ἐξ ἁγίας-  
μων τὰ μυσ-  
τικὰ σύμβολα  
τῆς οὐσίας

ἐξίσταται οὐσείας· μένει γὰρ ἐν τῇ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν, καὶ τῇ ἡμέλει, καὶ τῇ εἰδήσει, καὶ  
ᾧ ᾧ ἐστίν, καὶ ἀπλῶς, διὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν. Theod. Dialogue. 2.

Nothing can be plainer than this to Men who are not obstinately addicted to an Opinion in spite of all Reason and Sense. And what *Theodoret* saith here, is very agreeable to what he told *Eranistes* in the First Dialogue, viz. That our Saviour honoured the visible Symbols with the Appellation of his Body and Blood, not changing the Nature of them, but adding Grace to Nature. To avoid all this, our Adversaries pretend, that by Substance and Nature *Theodoret* means the *Accidents* of Bread; which is in effect to tell us, that they are utterly resolved to believe, or at least to befriend a Lie: For who, that really loves Truth, would thus confound things, so as to make Substance and Accident the same? But if they will strain their parts to play tricks with words, how can they make this their interpretation to come up to *Theodoret's* design, or to reach the Argument he had in hand, which was about the supposed substantial change of Christ's Humane Nature into his Divinity? *Theodore's* purpose was to Confute this by Arguing from the Doctrine of the Sacrament; and had the Church believed a Substantial change of the Bread, this would have confirm'd the *Eutychian* in his Opinion, but it could not have Confuted it: For the Heretick desired no more to be granted him, but this, that the Nature, or Substance of the Elements doth cease, though the *Accidents* continue: And this indeed would have favour'd his conceit, that the Substance of Christ's Humanity did cease, the Properties of it Remaining still: But *Theodoret* could not be so weak as to yield this; for then he would inevitably have lost himself in his Dispute.

But

But what think you of a *Pope* that disputed against the *Eutychians* too; and that from the very same Doctrine of the Sacrament? It was no less a Man than *Galasius*, who was Bishop of *Rome* Anno 492. and wrote a Celebrated Book of *the two Natures in Christ*: Which though *Bellarmino*, and some more about *Bellarmino's* time, denied to be this *Galasius* his Book, yet the Arguments against them are so strong, that Cardinal *Perron*, *Petavius* and other Learned and more Ingenuous Men since, have yielded us that point: And the moderate Writer I quoted before, saith, *This Work is assuredly of Pope Galasius, &c.* In that piece of *Galasius* his Book which we have extant in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, he teacheth the same Doctrine which *Theodoret* did, and for the confirmation of the same thing, as Cardinal *Bellarmino* doth confess. And what can be plainer than these words of *Galasius*? Viz. *That the Sacraments*

*Treatise of  
Transub. p. 40.*

*Bellarmino. de  
Euch. lib. 2.  
cap. 27.*

*which we receive of the Body and Blood of the Lord is a Divine thing, because by them we are made partakers of the Divine Nature; and yet the Substance or Nature of the Bread and Wine doth not cease to be. And truly the Representation and Similitude of Christ's Body and Blood is*

*Certe Sacramenta quæ sumimus Corporis & Sanguinis Domini divina res est, propter quod. & per eadem divina efficiamur consortes naturæ; & tamen esse non desinit Substantia vel Natura Panis & Vini, &c.*

*Celebrated in the Ministration of these Mysteries; and therefore it is plain that we must think that of Christ himself, which we profess and Celebrate in this Representation of him.* His meaning evidently is, that we must believe the Permanency of Christ's Humane Nature, though united to the Divine, because in the Holy Eucharist, which is the *Representation* of Christ, the Nature and Substance of Bread and Wine remaineth, though Consecrated by the Minister.



Photii Biblio-  
thec. cod. 229.

And yet we have another eminent Writer on our side, no less a Man than *Ephram*, who was Patriarch of *Antioch* about *Anno 540*. He disputed too against the *Eutychians*, and drew the very *same* Argument from the Sacrament which others had used before him, shewing, that the Humanity of Christ did not Cease in its Substance by being united to the word, no more than the Bread ceaseth in its Substance by the Addition of Spiritual Grace. *That* (says he-) *which is received by the Faithful doth not depart out of its own sensible Substance, and yet continues undivided from the intelligible Grace.* And least it should be replied (though 'tis strange it should) that by *Substance*, he means the *Species* and *Accidents* of the Bread, he says the same thing of the Sacrament of *Baptism*, where no Romanist ever affirmed any Transubstantiation to be. His words are these; *Baptism also, which becomes entirely a Spiritual thing, and is One, doth conserve still the propriety of the sensible Substance, I mean Water, and loseth not what it was,* Whence 'tis clear, that *Ephram* lookt upon the case in both Sacraments to be the *same*, an Addition of Spiritual Grace to be in *both*, but a loss of Substance to be in *neither*; nor any other change to be in the *Eucharist*, than what is in *Baptism*.

Sir, I have instanced in those four Writers particularly, not only because they were all Great Men in their Times, (Three of them *Patriarchs*, nay one of them Patriarch of *Rome*) but because they all argued against the *same* Heresie after the *same* manner; which to me seems very observable and *providential*: For tho the *Eutychian* Heresie prevailed so long, and did spread so far, that it did vast mischief, yet God directed the issues of it so, that 'twas an *occasion* of shewing



ing us what the Catholick Faith was, both in the Greek and Latin Churches, in those most Learned and flourishing times of Christianity, concerning *that great point* which in these latter Ages hath made so many distractions in Christendom. For it is not to be imagined, but that these Eminent Bishops spake the sense of the whole Catholick Church, over which they presided. For having to do with obstinate Hereticks, they were obliged to encounter them upon principles which all Christians *consented* to, and were *agreed*; otherwise the Disputations would have been *Endless*, had they argued from principles of their *own*, and which they were still to prove. It was necessary for them to proceed upon some *common* Foundation, whereon both Hereticks and Catholicks did stand, and such was this Doctrine of the Sacrament; for which Reason the Learned Doctors of the Church chose to insist upon it; nor do I find that the Hereticks did contradict it, or endeavour to destroy it; which they would most certainly have done (considering how much it made against them) had they not known it to have been a principle, universally *receiv'd*, that the Bread and Wine are *not* Transubstantiated, but remain still in their own *Nature* and *Substance*, even after Consecration.

For this Reason I have omitted an hundred other quotations out of the Ancients, and have taken notice only of this their *common* Argument against the *Eutychians*, because I think it a *plain* and *concise* way of confuting the Popish pretence, touching the Antiquity of the Doctrine of Transubstantiation. For it is not imaginable that the Ancients would have spoken so peremptorily and *dogmatically* in this point, had they not had the Authority of the whole Church.

to have back't them: And because they spake this so freely, and that as a *common* Argument against those Learned Hereticks, we may be sure, that what they said was the *common Faith of the Catholick Church* in those times; I mean in the Sixth Century.

And now, Sir, I shall proceed to Examine, how the matter stood as to this point in the times following. It is evident, that the great Council of 338. Fathers, who met at *Constantinople*, Anno 754. were of this Faith, *That the Bread in the Eucharist is not Christ himself, but the Image of him.* For this they urg'd, as an Argument against the use of all other Images, because the Symbols in the Eucharist are *the only Image of himself which he left his Church.* Now this utterly overthrows the Doctrine of the *Corporal presence* (and much rather the conceit of *Transubstantiation*.) For if the Bread be the Image of his Body, it cannot be the Body it self, as the Second *Nicene* Council argued, when they oppos'd the Definitions of this Council at *Constantinople*. And besides, there is something very observable in the Discourse of this Council upon this point, which I wonder so many Writers have not taken notice of, and it is this, that *Christ Ordaining at his last Supper this Image of himself, intended to shew the Mystery of his Incarnation.* And to this purpose they exprest themselves, as any one may see by consulting the Acts of the Council; *As when Christ took our Nature, he took barely the matter of Humane Substance, not his whole Person, Divinity and all; for to suppose that would be an Offence, or Derogation to the Deity; so when he appointed this Image of himself, he chose barely the Substance of Bread, not any shape of Man in it but only a Representation of his Natural Flesh; for that would have been an Introduction of Idolatry*

Conc. Nic. 2.  
Act. 6.

latry. Moreover they say, that as *Christ's Natural Body was Holy by being filled with the Deity; so this Image of him becomes Holy, by being Sanctified by Grace; and as that Flesh of ours, which Christ took, became Sanctified by being united to the Deity, so is the Bread in the Eucharist (the true Image of his Natural Flesh) Sanctified by the Advent of the Holy Spirit, &c.* Is this at all consistent with Transubstantiation, or with the Doctrine of Christ's Corporal presence in the Sacrament? And yet this was the sense of those 338. Fathers which they Dogmatically deliver'd as the sense of the Church, whereof they took upon themselves as the Representatives. Therefore Cardinal *Bellarmino* understanding their sense thoroughly, and finding how strongly and invincibly it made against Transubstantiation, had no other way left him but to rank this great Council among Hereticks; nay, he says they were the first, that ever called in question *the Truth of the Lords Body in the Eucharist*. Now this is easily said; but by his favour, they denied not the reality of Christ's *Spiritual* presence, but of his *Corporat* presence only, as we Protestants do. Nay he himself rightly observes in the same place, that the Protestant Faith in this point was not reckon'd among any of the Ancient Heresies, nor so much as *disputed* against by any one of the Ancients for the first 600. Years. For how should any Dispute against that, which was the Common Faith of the Church, and had been so all along, to the time of this *Constantinopolitan* Council? Those Fathers did no more but declare that publickly, which they had received from former Ages, and now made use of as a proper Argument against Images.

The Patrons of Images finding themselves pinch't with

Bellarmino. de  
Euchar. l. 1.  
c. 1.

with this Argument, began to move a point which hitherto lay quiet, and to strain those words, *This is my Body*, to a sense beyond what had been formerly taught, though it was a great while before they could hammer out their New Notions into any Form; for they spake very confusedly, inconsistently, and grossly, as if Christ's Natural Body were in the Sacrament.

And though I do not find that any of them went so far as to own yet a Substantial change of the Nature of the Bread and Wine into the Substance of Flesh and Blood (which is the conceit of the Church of *Rome* now) yet 'tis plain, that what these Innovators said, caused a New Great Controversie in Christendom, and that just upon the neck of the former Quarrel about Images, whereof I have already given you a particular and Faithful account,

II. And now I am come to the Second Thing I promised to shew you; which was, when, and how the sense of the Ancient Church about the Sacrament, came to be *alter'd*, what *progress* that alteration made, and what strong *Opposition* it met with for several Ages after it began.

Vide Albertin.  
de Sacram. p.  
920.

It is generally agreed, that *Paschasius Rathbertus* was one of the first Innovators in the Latin Church, about *Anno* 818. He was first a Monk, and afterwards Abbot of *Corbey* in *France*, and a Man of some considerable Reputation (especially for those times, when Learning was most decayed,) which perhaps might transport him into an undue Opinion of his own abilities; and that might make him affect singularity. However it came about, two very Learned Jesuites are agreed, that *Paschasius* was a *Leading Man* in

in this business. So says *Bellarmino*, that *Paschasius* was the first Author that wrote seriously and copiously of the Truth of the Lords Body and Blood in the Eucharist. And so saith *Sirmondus*, that *Paschasius* was the first that explained the Genuine sense of the Catholic ( he means the Roman ) Church. so as that he opened the way to others, who afterwards wrote upon the same Subject.

*Bellarmino de*  
*Scriptor. Eccles.*  
*in Paschal. &*  
*Sirmond. in*  
*vita Paschasii*  
*operibus ejus*  
*prefix.*

The Book which they chiefly mean, is that of the *Body and Blood of the Lord*, written to one *Placidus*; a young man whom *Paschasius* dearly loved. In reading of this Book one shall find so many dark Riddles, unconquerable perplexities, and plain inconsistencies, that it may be justly questioned, whether they are possible to be reconciled to Truth or Sense; nay, whether the Man himself understood what he would be at. One while he will have it to be nothing else but the Flesh and Blood of Christ; and another while to be a Figure, and the Flesh and Blood of Christ Mystically. Now he says, that Christ's Body is *Created* in the Sacrament, than that it is made of the Substance of Bread, and by and by, that the Mystery is Celebrated in the Substance of Bread and Wine. Sometime he tells us, that 'tis the very Body which Christ took of the Virgin; and presently that it is wholly a Spiritual and Divine thing which we Eat of, and that 'tis his *Spiritual* Flesh. In one fit he says 'tis the Flesh of Christ which repairs and nourishes our Flesh, because the whole Man is redeemed; and in another he says as positively, that all must be *spiritually* understood, that we must not think of any thing here that is Carnal, and that if there were a real change of the Bread into Flesh, it would be no more the Flesh of Christ, than now it is, because the



whole Mystery is *Spiritual*. Throughout the whole book there are so many loose, uncouth, and inconsistent Notions, that there is hardly any thing plain in it but this, that he owns a *Real* presence, though the Man seems miserably *confounded* how to make you in any measure to understand it, or how to understand himself his own meaning.

As I was reading the Book, I was apt to believe, that either he harped upon that Notion of Christ's *Spiritual* Body and Blood in the Sacrament, which several of the Ancient Fathers insisted on, and which is of such great use for the unfolding of this mystery; or else that his conceits were merely the raw issue of an unripened Judgment (for he Wrote that piece while he was yet a Monk.) But comparing it with his Epistle to *Frudegard*, and his exposition upon St. *Matthew* 26. v. 26. (both which he wrote when he was now Abbot and an *Old* Man) I thought it more reasonable to conjecture, that as at first he affected singularity, so to the last he was resolved to *persist* in it. For he stily held it, that *the very Body of Christ wherein he Suffer'd and Rose again; is of a Truth in the Sacrament materially and in the propriety of its Nature.* And yet to do him right, I do not see that he believ'd the Nature of Bread to be *Annihilated*, or *Transubstantiated*; no, his opinion seems quite *different* from that. He comes nearer to the Doctrine of *Consubstantiation*, that it is true *Bread* and true *Flesh* too; or rather to the conceit of *Impanation* (as they call it) as if Christ *assumed the Bread*, and *united it Corporally to himself upon the Consecration*; as he *assumed our Flesh*, and *united it to the Divinity at his Incarnation.* But this is a Candid interpretation. Whatever his fancy was, it soon startled many *Learned* and *Great*



Great Men in the Church. For *Paschasius* himself doth confess, that many doubted of of the Truth of his Doctrine, that many questioned, how the Sacrament could be the Body and Blood of Christ, and yet Christ remain entire; that he had provoked many to look narrowly into the thing, because it is said, the Flesh profiteth nothing; that others understood it to be not true Flesh, and true Blood, but only the Vertue of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament; that some reprehended him for what he had written in his Book of the Sacrament, believing that it was not true, and suspecting that his design was to be in the head of a Faction; and then with some choler he calls them Prating and Unlearned Men, that would not believe, but that a Body must be palpable and visible.

Ep. ad Fructu-  
gard. & ex-  
pos. in Matthi.

But hard words were far from stifling this matter. *Paschasius* his New Opinion had taken air, and though it fell vastly short of Transubstantiation, yet there was enough in it to stirr the the zeal of the Orthodox; and so it was ventilated, till by degrees it brake out into a flaming Controversie.

*Paschasius* his Contemporary *Rabanus* was one of the most Eminent Men of that time; first a Monk at *Fuld* in *Franconia*, where afterward he succeeded his Friend *Egilo* in the Abbacy, Anno 822. and at last was Archbishop of *Mentz*: The Glory of Germany, and admirably skill'd in all sorts of Learning, especially in the Hebrew, Greek and Latin Languages, as the Romanists themselves do confess. As soon as *Paschasius's* Book came abroad and made a noise in the World, this *Rabanus* undertook and confuted it, in an Epistle directed to *Egilo* then Abbot of the Monastery at *Fuld*. Indeed this Epistle is not now extant (care enough has been taken by some,

who thought themselves concern'd to suppress it :) But that such an Epistle was Written by *Rabanus* against *Paschasius* undeniably appears from several Manuscripts of an Author of the same Age, and a Friend to *Paschasius* his Opinion. Three of these Manuscripts were seen by the Learned *Albertinus* in some Libraries in *France*; and a Fourth is in the *Cottonian* Library, and a Fifth at *Sidney* Colledge in *Cambridge*; both which were perused by the incomparable Bishop *Usher*. This Author I say, having laid down *Paschasius* his Opinion, that the *Flesh* which is received at the Altar, is no other than that which was born of the *Virgin Mary*, suffer'd on the Cross, Rose again from the Grave, and as yet is daily offer'd for the Life of the World; at last he says, contra quem (*sc. Paschasium*) satis argumentatur & *Rabanus*, &c. against *Paschasius* both *Rabanus* in his Epistle to Abbot *Egilo*, and one *Ratramnus* in a Book written to King *Charles* (of *France*) argue largely, saying, that it is another kind of *Flesh*. And besides *Rabanus* himself tells us, that he wrote against this Errour of *Paschasius*'s in an Epistle to Abbot *Egilo*. For in his Penitential set out at *Ingolstadt* by *Peter Steuart*, he says (repeating the very words of *Paschasius*) some of late, not having a Right opinion of the Sacrament of the Lords Body and Blood, have affirmed, that 'tis that very Body and Blood of the Lord, which was born of the *Virgin Mary*, and in which the Lord suffer'd on the Cross, and rose again from the Grave: Against which Errour (saith he) we have employed our last endeavours, writing to Abbot *Egilo*, declaring what is truly to be believed concerning *Christ's* Body. It seems there was a little Dash, or rasure in this passage of *Rabanus*, supposed to have been made by the Monks at *Weingart*, where the Manuscript was found, and indeed

*Albert de Euchar. lib. 3. pag. 921.*

*Usher. Answer to the Challenge, p. 17. & de success. & statu p. 38, 39.*

*Raban penitential. c. 33. de Euchar. ad Heribald.*

deed 'tis an Artifice which has been commonly used by many disingenuous Romanists, and a very great Honour it is to their Cause, to mutilate and corrupt writings which make against them; but 'tis sufficient for me to note, how *Rabanus* calls the conceit of a Corporal presence, a *late Errour*; and yet then it was not so bulky, as in later Ages, when it swell'd into the most gross Opinion of Transubstantiation.

Anno 837. or thereabout, a great Council was held at *Carissacum* in *France*; the same Council, if I mistake not, where the Opinions of *Gotteschalchus* touching Predestination were consider'd and condemn'd, and *Paschasius Ratbertus*, then Abbot of *Corbey*, was one of that Council. Whether they determin'd any thing against *Paschasius himself*, is not certain; for the Printed Account we have hitherto had of that Council is very imperfect, but the Learned and inquisitive *Du Plessis* saw some Manuscript Acts of this Council, which though they struck immediately at *Amalarius* for some Errours he held about the Sacrament, yet are they so Opposite to *Paschasius's* Fancy and Destructive of it, as if the Council had intended to wound *Paschasius* through *Amalarius's* side. Thus it was: *Amalarius*, Archbishop of *Lyons*, was a considerable man in that Age; but in some points he held very absurd and monstrous Opinions; for which reason the Church of *Lyons*, after

wards took it ill, that *Amalarius* had been consulted in the cause against *Gotteschalchus*, because he had done his endeavour to infect and corrupt all the Churches in *France*, with *Lyes and Errours*, and with fantastical and false

*Vide Usser  
Hisor. Gottsch.  
chalch. p. 87.*

*De missa. lib.  
4. cap. 8. pag.  
743.*

*Multum moleste & dolenter accepimus, ut Ecclesiastici & prudentes viri tantam injuriam sibi metipsis fecerint, ut Amalarium de Fidei ratione consulerem, qui & verbis, & Libris suis mendaciis, & erroribus & sanctis, atque hereticis disputationibus plenus pene apud Franciam Ecclesias, & nonnullas etiam aliarum regionum quantum in se fuit infectis atque corruptis, &c. Eccles. Lugdunens. de tribus Epistolis. Bibliothec. P. R.*

*retical*

retical disputations, that his Writings ought to have been burnt. The Errours thus objected against him seem plainly to have been those concerning the Sacrament. For this was one of his *Fantastical and Heretical Notions*; that Christ hath a *Tripartite Body*; one that he took of the Virgin; another that is in us who live upon the Earth; and a Third that is in those who are dead. This monstrous Opinion we find in the 35th. Chapter of his Third Book *de Officiis Ecclesiasticis*; and it was laid to his charge by the *Caristac Synod*, as *Du Plessis* shews: And this seems to be that

*Ad ultimum quæso ne sequaris ineptias de Tripartito Christi Corpore. Paschal. foolery about the Tripartite Body of Christ, which Paschasius himself caution'd Frudegard against.*  
ad Frudegard. in fine.

For this was a different thing from *Paschasius* his Imagination of the threefold Body of Christ. Though *Amalarius* favour'd *Paschasius* his Opinion as to the main of it, yet in some things they were divided, that Innovation being as yet *Raw and Undigested*. But besides this; *Amalarius* had another New conceit agreeable to that of *Paschasius*, that the simple Nature of Bread and Wine is turn'd into a reasonable Nature, that is the Nature of Christ's Body and Blood; though he could not tell what becomes of this Body when 'tis received, whether it goes up to Heaven, or flies out into the Air, or remains in the Communicants Body till death, or goes out at the opening of the Vein. Such phantastical and heretical conceits had this Man about this matter; for Bishop *Usher* saw in *Bennet's Colledge Library* one of his Epistles in Manuscript to *Guitard* wherein he express himself to this purpose; and the same Errours were charged upon him by the *Caristac Synod* also. Now the Council's definition upon this strikes at all in short, to the ruin of *Amalarius* and

*Amalar. de Offic. Ecclesiast. c. 24.*

*Answer to the Jesuites Challenge pag. 79.*

and Paschasius his cause too; viz. *That the Bread and Wine is Spiritually made the Body of Christ, that is, the Mystery of our Life and Salvation, wherein one thing is seen by the Eye of the Body, and another by the Eye of Faith; that it is the Food of the mind, not of the Belly, that in that visible Bread and Drink a Man receives the virtue of invisible Grace, and that the Body of Christ is not in the visible thing, but in the Spiritual Virtue, &c.*

The Acts of this Council were written by *Florus*, and dedicated to several Bishops, and other Great Men at that time: Which is a clear Argument, that the sense of the *Caristiac* Synod was very agreeable to the received Doctrine of the Church then: Which I note the rather, because for the space of about 200. years no Council but this took any notice (that I know) of the Doctrine of the *Sacrament*; and yet a great many Synods were held on several occasions in that long tract of time; and a Controversie upon such a weighty point could not have escaped them all; and this being the first that ruin'd the pretence of a Corporal Presence, it is easie to believe, that till now there had been no occasion for a publick disinction in this point; and that when this occasion was offer'd, they were resolv'd to stifle this *Innovation* upon its first appearance.

To go on now with matter of Fact: Of those that singly engaged in the quarrel with *Paschasius*, *Bertram* was the next. You find by the Nameless Author above mentioned, that not only *Rabanus* wrote against him, but also *Ratramnus*, who is now usually called *Bertram* (for he is indifferently called *Bertramus*, *Ratramnus*, *Ratramus*.) Whatever his right Name was, he was a Monk of *Corbey*, and a very Eminent Person



son about *Anno* 840. for the Controversie now growing *hot*, especially in *France* where it had been kindled, and *Carolus Calvus* being very desirous to quench it in time, directed *Bertram* (so I will now call him) to give his sense of it. *Bertram* in obedience to the King's Command wrote an Excellent book upon the Subject; in the beginning whereof he takes notice of *no small Schism that then was in the Church*, about the Mystery of Christ's Body and Blood; and then he states the Two Great Questions which *Carolus Calvus* had proposed to him.

I. Whether the Sacrament be a *Figure* of some secret thing which is exhibited with it, and which is the Object not of Sense, but of Faith.

II. Whether that thing so exhibited be the very *Natural Body* of Christ, which was Born of the Virgin *Mary*, which Suffer'd, which was Dead and Buried, which Rose again, which Ascended into Heaven, and Sitteth at the Right Hand of the Father (which was the Opinion, and the very words of *Paschasius*.)

I. As to the First, though (at the close of his Book) he denies the Sacrament to be a *meer Figure*, a bare Shadow, an empty Sign without Christ's real Presence; yet he owns it to be a *Figure*; and solidly proves from Scripture, Reason and the Authority of several Ancient Fathers, that it is a *Figure*, and that under the visible and corruptible Elements, as under a Cover, is contained a *Divine and Spiritual Thing*, which is believed to be there upon Consecration through the Operation of the Spirit, *without any Corporal change of the things we see, but the Elements*  
re-

Neque ista  
commutatio cor-  
poraliter, sed spi-



remaining *still Corporeal Bread, and Corporeal Wine*. For as to that he is positive, *that in respect of the Substance of those Creatures, they continue the very same thing which they were before Consecration.*

*lisq; sanguis existit. Nam secundum Creaturarum Substantiam, quod fuerunt*  
*nen, hoc & postea consistunt.*

*ritualiter facta. Quoniam subve-  
lamento Corpo-  
rei panis, Corpo-  
reiq; vini spi-  
rituale Corpus  
Christi, spiritua-*  
*ante Consecratio-*

II. And as to the Second Question, he distinguishes with St. Ambrose and St. Jerome, between the *Natural* and the *Spiritual* Body of Christ, and peremptorily determines against *Paschasius*, and that over and over, that it is not the true, proper, and Natural Body, which was born of the Virgin, which Suffer'd and was Dead, &c. which is receiv'd in the Sacrament, but his *Spiritual* Body; that 'tis Christ's Body, though not his *Corporeal*, but *Spiritual* Body; that 'tis the Blood of Christ, though not his *Corporeal*, but *Spiritual* Blood: Which he explains thus, not that Christ hath two Bodies severally existent, and utterly different from each other in Nature, as Body and Spirit are; but because, a *Spiritual* power and efficacy goes along with the bodily Bread and Wine; because by and with these Creatures, there is Ministr'd to the Faithful a *Vital* Virtue, the vigour of a *Spiritual* Life, that word of God which is the living Bread, a *Divine* Virtue which secretly dispenseth Salvation to all Faithful Receivers, an invisible Power, which spiritually ministreth the Substance of *Eternal* Life, a Substance of *Spiritual* Operation, of invisible efficacy, and of *Divine* Virtue (as *Bertram* often expresseth himself) all which is supposed to be derived from Christ's Glorified Humanity, and therefore not improperly call'd his *Spiritual* Body, according to that Old Notion which St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, and the *Ephesine*

Council hat of the vivifick power of Christs Body, as being replenish'd with the Deity.

But I will not give you a large account of this Book, because it is common, and because every one knows how strongly it confutes the Opinion not only of Transubstantiation, but also of a *Corporal presence*, which was the New phancy of *Paschasius*.

I shall only observe this to you by the way, that the blessed Masters of the *Inquisition*, whose business it was to search into Books, and to let Men know what Authors they were not to use (for the pretended Catholick Faith cannot well endure Examination) that they might be lustily reveng'd upon poor *Bertram* for his plain dealing, ordered this invaluable Piece of his to be *supprest*, and accordingly 'tis ranked among the Prohibited Books in the *Tridentine*, *Roman* and *Spanish Indices Expurgatorii*. Only the Men of *Doway*, mistrusting that this course would turn to the shame and prejudice of their Cause, the Book being abroad in all Mens hands, thought it better to Tolerate it with some *Blottings*, *Alterations*, and *Constractions* of their own making. Whereas (say they) there are very many Errors in other Old Catholick Writers, which we bear with, extenuate, excuse, many times deny by some Artificial device or other, and fix a commodious sense upon them; we see not but *Bertram* (a Catholick Presbyter) may deserve the same Equity, and diligent *Revisal*. But with what Equity they have used him, or rather how basely and barbarously they have wronged him, any man may see, that will but look into the *Belgick Index Expurgatorius*; for here they have quite *rased* him, there they have *wrested* him, there again they have made him speak flat *Contradictions*, throughout they have used

*Index Belgic.*

so many *Charms* and *Spells* over him, as if they had perfectly designed by hook or by crook even to Transubstantiate Old *Bertram* out of himself.

But these Great Men stood not alone in this quarrel. *Bertram's* contemporary, the famous *Joannes Scotus Erigena* was deeply concern'd in it too. I give him that Character, because the Historians which speak of him mention him with Honour.

*Carolus Calvus* of *France* had such a value for him, that he made him his Companion at Bed and Board. Pope *Nicolas* himself gave him the Character of a Man renowned for his great knowledge: Nor was it any thing but his Eminent worth that made King *Alfred*, that Lover of Learning, invite him back into *England*, and fix him in the Monastery at *Malmesbury*, for the advancement of good Literature. Briefly, those disputations of his, which, while he was yet in *France*, he wrote against *Gotteschalchus*, and which did so trouble the whole Church of *Lyons* how to Answer, are a sufficient Argument of his Abilities. Now all agree, that this *Joannes Scotus Erigena* went hand in hand with *Bertram*, as to the Doctrine of the Sacrament, infomuch that some would make us believe, that the Book commonly ascribed to *Bertram* was composed by this *Scotus*. And though I see no good Reasons to think so, yet certain it is, that he wrote a *Traкт* upon the same Subject, and to the same effect, and very probably at the Command of *Carolus Calvus* also. About two hundred years after, when *Berengarius* his business grew hot, and the Opinion of a Corporal Presence by the interest of a Faction had gotten ground, *Scotus* his Book was urged and Vindicated by *Berengarius*; and his adversary *Lanfrank* own'd, that 'twas written in Opposition to *Pas-*

Hovedan. An.  
nal.

*basilius*, for which Reason it was condemn'd By that partial Synod at *Vercellis Anno 1050*. By the account we have of it now, it appears, that *Scotus* fairly went, as *Bertram* did upon the sense of *St. Ambrose, Jerome, Austin* and other of the Ancients. And this is very observable, that in the Controversie with *Gotteschalchus* about Predestination which was ardent at that time, these two Learned Men were divided; for *Bertram* was on *Gotteschalchus* his side, and *Scotus* was against him. But however they differ'd in that Point, in this concerning the Sacrament they were both agreed, which shews, that it was not Friendship, or Prejudice, or the love of a party which Govern'd them in their perswasions, but the entire love they had for those things which seem'd to be True, and that it appear'd to them both as an unquestionable Truth, from Scripture, Reason, and the Catholick Doctrine of the Ancient Church (which they both insisted on) that Christ's Presence in the Sacrament is only *Spiritual*.

I end this with an Observation of a moderate Writer, yet living in the *Gallican Church*, concerning this *Scotus*; that if he had advanced any New Doctrine, he would certainly have been reprov'd for it by the Church of *Lyons*, by *Prudentius*, by *Florus*, by the Councils of *Valence* and *Langres*, which condemn'd and censur'd his opinions on the Doctrine of Predestination.

As for his Death; though he was barbarously Murder'd by his own Scholars at *Malmesbury*, it is so far from being a Blot upon his Memory, or a disparagement to his Cause, that it is an Honour to Both. For every one knows, he was reckon'd a Martyr. Indeed it is not certain what the true occasion of

Treatise of  
Transubstanti-  
ation turn'd  
into English,  
and Printed at  
London. 1687.  
pag. 58.

of that horrid wickedness was. Very probably he had been too liberal of his Wit against the dull and wanton Monks: Though *Genebrard* insinuates, that it was for his Doctrine of the Sacrament, yet Monsieur *Duval* confesseth, this was *Genebrards private conjecture, not founded on any Authority or Testimony*. I believe, the conceit of a Corporal Presence was hardly so much as known at that time in *England*; and after it came to be vended here? it was a long time ere it came to that value, as to be made the price of *Blood*.

*Genebrard, in Liturg. Dionys. Duval annot. in lib. Ecclesiæ Lugd. adv. Scot.*

There were many other men of note in this Ninth Century, whom divers Writers on our side have proved to have declared their minds against the Innovation of *Paschasius*; such as *Hincmarus*, *Walefridus Strabo*, *Heribald*, *Drusilmanus*, and several more, whose names you meet with in many Latin Tracts, and in that English Treatise I mention'd just now. But I will not spend my time upon every little quotation, least I should make this Letter swell beyond a due proportion; and besides I think it not amiss to divert you a little with some account of the posture of this affair about that time here at home, because I have just spoken of *Scotus*, who was either our Country Man, or a near Neighbour.

Somewhat after the 900th. year from Christ, *Odo* was Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and he would have brought into *England* the belief of a Corporal presence: But it seems the Clergy were too Honest to be wrought upon. In those days most doubted of the Truth (meaning, the Substantial Presence) of *Christ's Body in the Sacrament*, saith *William of Malmesbury*: Some Clergy Men asserted (saith *Osbern*) that the Bread and Wine after Consecra-

*Malmesb. de gest. pontif. Angl. p. 201. Osbern. in vitæ Odon.*



tion remain in their own former Substance. He saith, some, but he should have said the Generality of Men believed so, for it was then the common Opinion in the Church of England. But this has been the custom of that sort of men, when they are to tell Noses, or go to the Poll, to represent the adverse party as a little Handsful, though sometimes to their cost they find themselves sadly mistaken in their account.

For after the death of Odo, this was the common Faith of the Church of England, even in the days of Elfrick ( or Alfrick ) who was made Abbot of Malmesbury by King Edgar Anno 974. if Ingulphus be right in his computation. Indeed about that time Men did search, how bread that is gather'd of Corn, and through fires heat baked, may be turned to Christ's Body, &c. But the Doctrine of our Church which was then profess'd, and which upon that search was the more vigorously maintain'd, was, that 'tis Christ's Body Mystically, Spiritually, and by signification. The Reason why I say it, is this. Elfrick was of such great esteem in the Church, that his Writings were sort'd among the publick Acts of the Church, and judg'd to contain the avowed and Authentick Doctrine of the Church of England then: For some of them were put among the Ecclesiastical Canons and Constitutions for the instruction and good Government of the Clergy; and some of his Writings were publickly read, in Churches, as Authoriz'd Homilies for the Information of all People. This account I find in in the Preface to a very scarce Book, under this Title, *A Testimony of Antiquity, shewing the Ancient Faith of the Church of England touching the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord here publickly preached, and also received in the Saxon time.* This Book was

A Saxon Homily on Easter-Day.

was Printed in Archbishop *Parkers* days (but there is no printed date of the year, only in MSS. 1567.) and Mr. *Fox* seems to have taken out of it all that account which he gives us of this matter in his *Acts and Monuments*. It is a little *Manual* of some of *Elfricks* Works: First a *Sermon* Translated by *Elfrick* out of some Latin Author into the *Saxon* Language (which was publickly read here on Easter-Day) and then two of his Epistles to two Bishops: Out of which, saith the Prefacer, it is not hard to know, not only so much what *Alfrickes* judgment was in this Controversie, but also, that more is, what was the common received Doctrine herein of the whole Church of England as well when *Elfricke* himself lived, as before his time, and also after his time, even from him to the Conquest.

The piece I now speak of being a Rarity, I will give you this account of it, premising this only, that by *Houssel* is meant the Elements in the Sacrament, the Sacramental Bread and Wine. In the Sermon for Easter (the *Saxon* Language on the one Page, and the common English over against it on the other) after a pretty long comparison made in the beginning between the *Paschal* Lamb in *Egypt*, and our Blest Saviour, these words follow: 'Now Men have  
'often searched, and do yet often search, how Bread  
'that is gathered of Corne, and through fyers heate  
'baked may be turned to Christes Body, or how  
'Wyne that is pressed out of many Grapes, is turned through one blessing to the Lords Bloude. Now  
'say we to suche men, that some thinges be spoken  
'of Christ by signification, some thyngs by thyng  
'certain. True thyng is and certain, that Christ was  
'born of a Maid, and suffered Death of his own accord, and was buryed, and on thys day rose from  
Death.

'Death. He is sayd Bread by a signification, and a  
 'Lamb, and a Lyon, and a Mountayne. He is cal-  
 'led bread, because he is our Life and Angels Life.  
 'He is sayd to be a Lamb for his innocence; a Ly-  
 'on for strength wherewith he overcame the  
 'strong Devil. But Christ is not so notwithstanding  
 'after true Nature, neither Bread, nor a Lamb, nor  
 'a Lyon, why is then that holy *Houfel* called Christ's  
 'Body or his Blood, if it be not truly that it is called?  
 'Truly the Bread and the Wyne which by the Masse  
 'of the Priest is Halowed, shew one thing without to  
 'humayne understanding, and another thing they call  
 'within to beleving mindes. Without they be sene  
 'Bread and Wine both in Figure and in tast; and  
 'they be truely after their halowing Christes Bo-  
 'dy and hys bloude through Ghostly mistery. An  
 'heathen Childe is Christened, yet he altereth not  
 'hys shape without though he be chaunged within.  
 'He is brought to the Font-Stone sinful through A-  
 'dams disobedience: Howbeit he is washed from all  
 'Sinne within though he hath not altered hys shape  
 'without. Even so the Holy Font Water that is cal-  
 'led the well spryng of Life is lyke in shape to other  
 'Waters, and is subject to corruption; but the Holy  
 'Ghostes myght commeth to the corruptible Water  
 'through the Priestes Blessing, and it may after  
 'wash the Body and Soule from all Sinne, through  
 'Ghostly myghte. Beholde now we see two thyngs in this  
 'one Creature. After true Nature that Water is cor-  
 'ruptible Water, and after Ghostly mistery hath ha-  
 'lowing mighte. So also if we beholde that Holy  
 '*Houfell* after bodely understanding, then see we that  
 'it is a Creature corruptible and mutable: If we ac-  
 'knowledge therein ghostly myghte, then understand  
 'we

we that lyfe is therein, and that it giveth immor-  
 tality to them that eat it with beliefe. Muche is  
 betwixt the invifible myght of the Holy Houfell,  
 and the vifible fhape of its proper Nature. It is  
 naturally corruptible Bread, and corruptible Wyne,  
 and is by myght of Gods worde truely Chriftes Bo-  
 dy and his Bloude. Much is betwixt the Body  
 Chrift fuffered in, and the Body that is Halowed to  
 Houfell. The Body truely that Chrift fuffred in,  
 was born of the Flefh of *Mary*, with bloude and  
 with bone, with Skinne and with Sinews, in Hu-  
 mane Limmes, with a reasonable Soule living: And  
 his Ghofly Body, which we call the Houfell, is ga-  
 thered of many cornes, without Bloude and Bone,  
 without Limme, without Soule, and therefore no-  
 thing is to be understand therein bodelye, but all is  
 Ghofly to be understand. Whatfoever is in that  
 Houfell which giveth Substance of Lyfe, that is of  
 the Ghofly myghte, and invifible doing. There-  
 fore is the Holy Houfell called a mifterye, becaufe  
 there is one thing in it feene, and another thing un-  
 derftanded. That which is there feene hath bodily  
 fhape, and that we do there understand, hath Ghof-  
 ly might. Certainly Chrifts body which fuffred  
 Death and rofe from Death, never dyeth henceforth;  
 but is Eternal and unpaffible: That Houfell is  
 Temporal, not Eternal; corruptible, and dealed in-  
 to fondrye parts; Chewed between Teeth, and fent  
 into the Belly: Howbeit nevertheleffe after Ghof-  
 ly myghte, it is all in every parte.—This mifte-  
 rye is a pledge and a Figure; Chriftes Body is Truth  
 it felf. This pledge we do keep miftically, until  
 that we become to the Truth it felf, and then is  
 this Pledge ended. Truely it is fo as we before have

' sayd, Christes Bodye and hys Bloude; not bodilye,  
 ' but Ghostly. — The Saviour sayeth, *He that eat-*  
 ' *eth my Flesh, and Drinketh my Blood, hath everlasting*  
 ' *Life.* And he bad them not eat that Body which  
 ' he was going about with, nor that bloude to drink  
 ' which he shed for us, but he ment with those wordes  
 ' that Holy Houfell, which Ghostley is hys Body,  
 ' and hys Bloude; and he that tasteth it with belea-  
 ' ving hart, hath that Eternal Lyfe. — Certainly  
 ' this Houfell which we do now halow at God's Al-  
 ' tar, is a remembrance of Christes body which he  
 ' offred for us, and of his Bloude which he shed for  
 ' us.

The meaning of this Mystry being there thus un-  
 folded, the rest of that Sermon is, touching the man-  
 ner how people should receive it; which I shall not  
 transcribe, because it is not so much to my present  
 purpose; and the whole is in Mr. Fox, where you  
 may peruse it at your leisure.

In Hen. 8. a-  
 bout the Six  
 Articles.

The next thing is an Epistle of *Elfrick's* to *Wulfs-*  
*sine*, Bishop of *Scyrburne*, by occasion of an ill cu-  
 stomè the Priests had of keeping the Consecrated E-  
 lements by them an whole year. It is a short one,  
 and you shall have it all.

' Some Priests keepe the Houfell that is consecrate  
 ' on Easter-Day all the yere for Syke Men. But  
 ' they do greatlye amysse, because it waxeth horye  
 ' and rotten. And these will not understand how  
 ' grevous penaunce the pœnitential Booke teacheth  
 ' by thys, if the Houfell become horye and rotten;  
 ' or yf that it be lost; or be eaten of Beasts by negly-  
 ' gence. Men shall reserve more carefullye that ho-  
 ' ly Houfell, and not reserve it to long, but Conse-  
 ' crate other of newe for Syke men alwayes within



y a weke or a fortnight that it be not so much as  
 'horye. For so holy is the Houfell which to day is  
 'halowed as that which on Easter-day was hallowed.  
 'That Holy Houfell is Christes Body, not bodily but  
 'Ghostly. Not the bodye which he suffred in, but  
 'the Body of which he spake, when he blessed Bread  
 'and Wyne to Houfell a night before his suffring,  
 'and said by the Blessed Bread, thys is my Body,  
 'and agayne by the Holy Wyne, this is my bloude  
 'which is shed for many in forgiveness of Sinnes.  
 'Understand now that the Lord who could turn that  
 'Bread before his suffring to his Body, and the Wyne  
 'to his Bloude Ghostlye, that the selfe same Lorde  
 'blesseth dayly through the Priestes handes Bread  
 'and Wyne to hys Ghostlye bodye, and to his Ghostlye  
 'bloude.

The other Epistle is to *Wulstane* Archbishop of  
*Torke*, to the same purpose with the former, only  
 somewhat longer; and about the middle of it he  
 saith, 'Christ Haloweth dayly by the handes of the  
 'Priest Bread to hys Body, and Wyne to his bloud  
 'in Ghostly mistery, as we read in bokes, And yet  
 'that lively bread is not so notwithstanding, not the  
 'selfe same Body that Christ suffered in. Nor that  
 'Holy Wyne is the Saviours Bloud which was shed  
 'for us in bodely thing, but in Ghostly understand-  
 'ing. Both be truely that bread hys Body, and that  
 'Wyne also hys bloud, as was the Heavenly Bread,  
 'which we call Manna, that fed forty yeres Gods  
 'people.

This Epistle to *Wulstane* was first Written by *El-  
 fricke* in Latin, and then by *Wulstanes* directions  
 Translated by him into English, though not Word  
 for Word, as *Elfrick* tells him. And the Words ob-

servable in the Latin are these: *'Intelligite modo sacerdotes, quod ille Dominus qui ante passionem suam potuit convertere illum panem, & illud Vinum ad suum Corpus & sanguinem; ipse quotidie sanctificat per manus Sacerdotum suorum Panem ad suum Corpus spiritualiter, & Vinum ad suum Sanguinem (non fit tamen hoc Sacrificium Corpus ejus in quo passus est pro nobis; nec Sanguis ejus, quem pro nobis effundit: Sed spiritaliter Corpus ejus efficitur & sanguis; sicut Manna quod de Cælo pluit, & aqua quæ de Petra Fluxit)'*

Sir, These Three Things of *Elfrick's* are a Noble Monument of the Faith of the Church of *England* even to the Tenth Century: And though we find them in *Mr. Fox* and some other Authors, yet I thought my self obliged to give you this short account of them out of a little Manual (which a Reverend Friend of mine hath lent me) because at the end of it there is an attestation in Manuscript signed by Seventeen Bishops of our Church, under their own hands (as it seems) that the English Translation of this Sermon and the two Epistles is exactly agreeable to the *Saxon* Copies, which upon the Reformation were found in the Libraries of the Cathedral Churches, *Worcester, Hereford, and Exeter*; from which places (saith the Preface) divers of these Books have been deliver'd into the hands of the most Reverend Father, *Matthew* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (I suppose *Dr. Parker*) Least any doubt should arise about the Translation, whether it were skillfully or faithfully done; there is (as I told you) at the End, this attestation in Manuscript: *'Now that this foresaid Saxon Homily with the other Testimonies before alledged do fully agree to the Old Ancient Books. (whereof some be written in the Old Saxon, and some in the Latin'*

\* time) from whence they are taken. These here under-  
 \* written upon diligent perusing and comparing the  
 \* same, have found by conference that they are truly put  
 \* forth in Print without any adding, or withdrawing  
 \* any thing, for the more faithful reporting of the  
 \* same. In Witness whereof they have subscribed their  
 Names (I will not go about to imitate their several dif-  
 ferent hands least I prove a Bungler at it; but I ob-  
 serve, the Bishop of *Durham's* Title is very differently  
 Written from all the rest; for it is in Greek Chara-  
 cters)

- 1 *Matthue* Archbishop of *Canterburye*.
- 2 *Tho. Ebor. Archiepiscopus*.
- 3 *Edm. London*.
- 4 *Ja. Dunelm.*
- 5 *Rob. Winton*.
- 6 *William* Bushoppe of *Chichester*.
- 7 *Jo. Bushop* of *Heref*.
- 8 *Richarde* Bishope of *Ely*.
- 9 *Ed. Wigorn*.
- 10 *N. Lincoln*.
- 11 *R. Meneven*.
- 12 *Thomas* Covent and *Lich*.
- 13 *John* Norwic.
- 14 *Joannes* Carleolen.
- 15 *Will. Cestren*.
- 16 *Thomas* Assaphen.
- 17 *Nicolaus* Bangor.

*Hii Patres precedentes subscripserunt manibus suis pro-  
 priis in hoc Libello.*

Now out of the whole four things are observable.  
 1. That even before the time of *Elfrick*, the Do-  
 ctrine

Preface to the  
Book now  
mention'd.

Doctrine of Christs Spiritual presence only, was the Doctrine commonly and currently received in all the Western Churches, whatever fantastical Notions some private men might entertain to the contrary. For those Eighty Sermons which *Elfrick* spake of, as of his own Writing (whereof that upon Easter-Day was one) were not of his own composure, but Translations which he made out of Latin Writers; which shews, that the Latins whom he followed and Translated had been positive against the new conceit of a Corporal presence.

*ib.*

2. That in *Elfrick's* time the same Doctrine was constantly held throughout the whole Church of *England* as the True Doctrine. For how can we imagine, that *Elfrick's* Translations could be read publicly in the Churches in *England*, if the English Bishops did not believe them to contain Doctrines that were sound and agreeable to the Catholick Faith? Or how can we conceive, that *Elfrick's* Epistles should be put among the publick Writings of our Church, had not the Doctrines in them been publicly own'd and profess'd here? And yet it is evident, that among other

*ib.*

Canons which our Bishops collected out of *Gildas*, *Theodorus*, *Egbert*, *Alcuine*, and out of the Fathers of the Primitive Ages, they did sort those Epistles of *Elfrick*, for the better ordering of the English Church.

3. That those Writings of *Elfrick's* did so directly strike at the Errours of *Paschasius*, as if he had purposely designed to prevent those Errours from creeping into this Kingdom, and throughly to season the whole Nation against them. For in some places he takes the Opinion, nay the very words of *Paschasius*, and contradicts him so flatly in the words of

*Bertram*

*Bertram* and others of the former Century, that you would think he had some of those Authors before him, as perhaps he had.

4. That upon the Conquest, when divers of the Foreign Clergy came hither with and after *Lancfrank* (an *Italian* Patron of *Paschasius's* gross Opinion, and now sent for by the Conqueror to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*) they found the Doctrine of the Spiritual presence only taught and profest in the Church of *England*. For this reason they fell foul upon the Records of our Church; and especially upon those Latin Authors which *Elfrick* had made use of, and upon what they could understand of *Elfrick's* own Writings. So that those Eighty Latin Sermons, which *Elfrick* had Translated, are long ago lost; nor did the Latin Epistle to *Wulfstane* (which they found in the Library at *Worcester*, and probably was given to that Library by *Wulfstane* himself) escape them neither. For in part of that Epistle, where the tender point lay, a perfect Rasure was committed: I have Noted the words above in a Parenthesis, viz.

that *this Sacrifice is not made that Body of Christ in which he suffer'd for us, nor that Blood of Christ which he shed for us, but it becomes Spiritually his Body and Blood; as the*

*Manna that descended from Heaven, and the Water which flowed out of the Rock.* These words were flatly and expressly against the Opinion of *Paschasius*; and therefore they were quite rased out; tho' afterwards they were restored to us, out of another Latin Copy of the same Epistle in the Church of *Exeter*, which by good luck had escaped their Tallons.

Had these Men understood the *Saxon* Language, perhaps

*Non fit tamen hoc. Sacrificium Corpus ejus in quo passus est pro nobis, neque Sanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit; sed spiritualiter Corpus ejus efficitur & Sanguis, sicut Manna quod de Celo pluit, & aqua quæ de Petra fluxit.*



perhaps we should have had very little or nothing of *Elfricks* Writings left us. But such *soul play* is an evident Argument of a very *bad Cause*: And so I shall leave it to your consideration, what little Reason the Romanists have to call us Hereticks and Innovators in this point, when 'tis so plain that the Innovation lieth at their own door, and that when it first began to peep into the World, the Church of *England* would not endure it; but even in the days of the *Saxons*, when the Controversie about it was so hot abroad (especially in *France*) She still maintain'd the Doctrine of the *spiritual presence*, so that it held on constantly here to the time of the *Conquest*; and might have held on still in an uninterrupted course from Age to Age, had it not been for some *Workers of Iniquity*.

Let us now cross the Sea again, and go on with our Relation of this matter, how it stood abroad; whence I have a little diverted you, though I hope with no unuseful or unpleasant Digression.

In the Tenth Century this Controversie seem'd to lie pretty *Quiet*; some following the phancy of *Paschasius*, that Christ's Natural Body is in the Sacrament, his Body properly so called, that which he took of the Holy Virgin, that which suffer'd upon the Cross, &c. Others following the Catholick Faith of the Ancient Church, that it is Christ's *Spiritual*

*Body*; meaning, not his *Flesh properly*, but the *Virtue* of his *Flesh*; not his *Blood*, but the *Virtue* of his *Blood*, as *Paschasius* himself re-

presents their meaning in his time. The Truth is, this Tenth Century abounded with Men from whom the

*Qui dicunt esse virtutem Carnis non Carnem, virtutem Sanguinis non Sanguinem. Paschas. in Math. 26.*

the World could not expect any thing that was good, some very illiterate ; some very Dull and Unactive ; some very Lewd ; some very Ambitious and self ended, and some quite discouraged by the tempestuouſness of the times. By the account all Learned Men have given us, it was a most *Infamous Age* ; the worst that ever was, or hath been hitherto, since the beginning of Christianity.

Probable it is, that at this time *Paschasius* his Opinion did spread, and even to the Court of *Rome*, when nothing in comparison was in the way to stop it. And when it was once gotten thither, 'tis easie to believe that *indigent Men* or *flatterers* would be found to *comply* with it. For how can you think that such Men in such an Age would resist the strong Temptations of a Court, and not resign up Truth and their own Consciences as a composition for their Crimes, or as a price for their Preferments, the Popes having now got so much power into their hands ? Besides the Priests might easily foresee what a profitable Errour this would prove in time ; what Authority they would hereby gain over people, and how easily they might have their Purses and Consciences at Command : For what will not Men do, to have the very Body of their Saviour put into their Mouths ? And when a Priest hath his Penitent at his knee, he must needs have full power over him, if he can make him believe that he hath his God in his hand too.

For these and the like Reasons, the *Paschasian* Opinion of the Corporal Presence stole about, without meeting with any publick opposition in this Age, wherein there was such a great scarcity of *Writers*, and a greater of *Scholars*.

Yet in all this time I do not find any footsteps of *Transubstantiation*. That Doctrine was *grafted* afterwards upon the wild conceit of *Paschasius*, to the great mischief of the World, that hath been payson'd since with its very unfavoury and deadly *Fruit*, somewhat like that which grew upon the *Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil*, the occasion of Mans Fall:

I will not dissemble with you. The most Learned and impartial Men about this time, both before and after the Tenth Century, did speak of the presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament in very high terms. But their Opinon was this ; that the consecrated Bread becomes Christs Body, not by a *Substantial change* of the one into the other, nor by an Identity of Nature in *Both* (for they all held the True Body of Christ to be still in Heaven, and in Heaven only) But they conceived the Bread and the Body to be *United*, by means of a *Third Thing* (that is by the Holy Spirit) whereby the Bread and the Body were *United by a mysticall Consociation, and by an ineffable Conjunction*; both Bread and Body remaining still *distinct* in their own proper *Natures*. I pray observe it : They believed (as very many of the Ancient Fathers did) that upon the Priests blessing, that *Divine Spirit which replenisheth, and dwelleth in Christ's glorified Body in Heaven, doth also replenish the Bread and Wine at the Eucharist ; and that by this mediation of the Spirit, the Holy Elements are joyned to Christ's Body by a Divine and Spiritual coadunation*. Now this is a quite different thing from *Transubstantiation*; for that supposeth the matter of the Elements to be annihilated, or to pass into another Substance; whereas the Divines of former Ages believ'd no more  
but

but a Mystical and Spiritual Union : And howsoever they express themselves about the *Conversion, Transmutation, and Transfusion* of the Elements, 'tis evident they meant only the *transferring* of them, from a Common to a Sacramental Use, and the raising of them up from the meer condition of Earthly Creatures to an high degree of Divine Dignity and Excellence ; being now no longer *bare* Bread, and *bare* Wine, but things of a sublime *Quality* and *Condition*, the venerable Means and Instruments of Communicating Christ's Body and Blood to us, through the secret Operation of the Holy Ghost. All which is very consistent with the Church of *England's* Notion of Christ's *Real Spiritual* Presence ; but is *opposite* to the *Paschasian* conceit of a gross *Corporal* Presence, and utterly Destructive of the *later* conceit of Transubstantiation.

But to go on. In the beginning of the Eleventh Century, the *Paschasian* Doctrine met with fresh Opposition. For the Romish Writers themselves confess, that *Leuthericus* ( who was Archbishop of Sens in France, Anno 1004 ) was a Great Stickler against it. *Baronius* tells us, that he fell under King *Roberts* displeasure for that Reason. The Writer of the Life of Pope *John* the Seventeenth, in one of the Tomes of the Councils, would have it, that *this* *Leuthericus* scattered the Seeds of the Berengarian Heresie. And *Spondanus* insinuates that *Fulbertus* in his Epistles to *Leuthericus* reprehended him for dissenting from the Catholicks in this point. But upon perusing those Epistles, as they are set out by *Carolus de Villiers* in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, I find no such thing. Some hard words in-

*Hujus tempore Leuthericus Senonensis  
Archiepiscopus haresis Berengarianæ primordia & semina sparsit.*

deed past upon the score of Ecclesiastical Discipline; but as to this matter I can see nothing.

Nor can I conceive how it should be so; not because *Fulbertus* was *Berengarius* his Instructor, but because his Writings shew him to have been of an Opinion quite *different* from, nay *contrary* to that of *Paschasius*; though indeed the *Romanists* would fain pull him on their side, because he was of such Authority and Eminence in his time, so greatly admired, that some Dreaming Monks devis'd this pleasant Romance of him (which some Learned Writers too, have been willing to report) that *when he was Sick, the Virgin Mary was seen to come and Suckle him with Milk out of her own Breasts*.

But let us be serious. This *Fulbertus* was Bishop of *Chartres*, in the Province of *Leuthericus*, Anno 1007. And the first thing to our purpose, which I find in his Epistle to *Adeodatus* is very remarkable. For having mentioned Three Things necessary to be understood, whereof this is the Third, viz. *what the two Sacraments of life, that is of the Lords Body and Blood, do consist of*; presently he saith, that *many looking on this and other things too Carnally, while they gazed on a Carnal Sense, (or, meaning) more than on the secret Mysteries of Faith, they tumbled down the precipice of a pernicious Error*. And is not this directly against the Carnal opinion of *Paschasius*, as well as against those who lookt upon these Mysteries as *Empty things*? And after he saith, *because Christ was to take away into Heaven that Body which he offer'd up for us, that we might not want the help of his Body so taken away, he left us this Pledge of his Body and Blood; not the Symbol of an empty Mystery, but that which a secret Vertue invisibly works in under the visible Form of a Creature*.



*Creature, the Holy Ghost joyning the True Body of Christ to it.* You see *Fulbertus* runs clearly upon that *Mystical Union* I spake of before, which supposes the Substance and Nature both of Bread and Body to remain still in themselves *distinct*.

*Compaginante  
Spiritu Sancto  
Corpus Christi  
verum.*

In his Epistle *ad Finardum* he plainly distinguisheth that Body which Christ took in the Virgin's Womb, from that which is in the Sacrament: And at the End of his Sermons, he tells us, that *some Eat to Life, and others to Destruction; but that the Thing represented by the Sacrament is to every Man for Life only; so that he who Eateh to his Condemnation, Eateh not the Flesh of Christ, nor Drinks his Blood although he Eats and Drinks that which is the Sacrament of so great a thing.* All which, how can it possibly consist with the fullsome Doctrine of a Corporal presence, which supposes that very Flesh and Blood which Christ took of the Virgin to be truly, Really, Substantially and materially in the Sacrament?

This last passage in *Fulbertus* is probably thought to have been that, which did stick so deeply in the mind of his Scholar, *Berengarius*: Whose famous case I am at length come to, and shall search into it impartially, though it be no small unhappiness that we must have recourse to the Writings of his profest Adversaries; there being little extant which either he wrote for himself, or his Friends for him, though it was a case wherein we may be sure many Pens were at work: And so we are expressly told by *Sigebert*, who lived near the time of this Controversie, that *many disputed much both in their Discourses and Writings some against Berengarius, and some for him*: And the Truth of this will appear in the Sequel.

*Contra eum (Berengarium) & pro eodem multum a multis, & Verbis & Scriptis, disputatum est. Sigeb. Chron. ad an. 1053.*

Though

Though some Romanists have endeavoured to oppress the Memory of *Berengarius* with a heavy weight of ill Characters (as 'tis usual with them in all such cases) yet several of that side have ingenuously acknowledg'd, that he was a most Eminent person in his time, not only for his great Charity, Humility and Austerities of Life, but also for his great Parts and Learning. And the thing is evident, partly from his Dignity in the Church; for he was Archdeacon of *Angers* in *France*, intrusted with the Office of Instructing the Clergy, and of training them up in the Studies of Divinity: And partly from those great stirs which hapned in so many parts of Christendom upon his Quarrel. Not that I can imagine such hot contentions should arise in *France*, *England*, and *Italy* (as 'tis plain there were) purely upon the personal account of *Berengarius*: For it is impossible to conceive how one single Frenchman, though of the greatest Note could engage such distant Numbers in a common Controversie by any New Doctrines of his own. No, their general Concurrence with him is a plain sign, that they had a deeply radicated Love for the Ancient Truth, however it was Deprest by the then prevailing Patrons of the *Paschasian* phancy; that they were well prepared for a publick Declaration of the Truth; and that they waited only for a fair Opportunity of declaring it, and for some such Leading Man as *Berengarius* was to appear in the Head of them. So you know it was at the time of the Reformation; people had had such bitter Experience of the Spirit of *Popery*, that 'twas every where *Hated*, and the World was well disposed for the entertainment of Christ's Religion; so that when *Luther* cryed out against Indulgences

dulgences and Priest-craft, the cry went presently round, not so much for *Luthers* sake, as for the respect men had for *Truth* and *honesty*, and out of their detestation of a *Lucrative* contrivance which some Popes and their fellow work men had formed to oppress the world. Thus a great part of Christendom seems to have been dispos'd in *Berengarius* his days, if that had been *God's* time for a general Reformation: But the Sins of the World were to be punish'd, and God in his Wisdom chose rather to bring good out of evil afterwards, than to *prevent* the evil at that time.

As to *Berengarius* his Principles, I must intreat you to observe, that his *First* opinion seems to have been, that the Bread and Wine are *barely Figures and Shadows*, without the invisible thing, if we may believe those that wrote against him, *Lancfranck*, *Adelmanus*, *Durandus* of *Liege*, and especially *Guitmund*. But searching more narrowly into this point, and finding how obnoxious he was to his adversaries, who could not but object against him the sense of the whole Catholic Church, his Opinion afterwards rose higher; as to this, and his settled Judgement was, *That the Sacrifice of the Church consisteth of two things, the visible Sacrament, and the Thing of the Sacrament, that is, the spiritual Body of Christ*, as the Ancients themselves spake. And to this exactly agrees what *Guitmund* fairly said of the *Berengarians*, that *they were divided in their positive Opinions*; some of them believing that there is nothing at all of the Lords Body and Bloud in the Sacrament, but that the Symbols are shadows and figures only; whereas others of them

*Lancfranck de Euchar. Sacram.*

*Berengariani multum in hoc differunt, quod alii nihil omnino de Corpore & Sanguine Domini Sacramentis istis in esse, sed tantummodo umbras hac & figuras esse dicant. Alii vero dicunt ibi Corpus & Sanguinem Domini reveras, sed latenter contineri, & ut sumi possint quodammodo (ut ita dixerim) impanari. Et hanc ipsius Berengarii subtiliorem esse Sententiam aiunt, Guitmund. de Veritate Euchar. lib. 1. non procul ab initio.*

*confest.*

*confest the Lords Body and Blood to be there truly, but secretly, and as it were joyned with the Bread and Wine, that they may be received ; which they say (saith Guitmund) is the more subtle Opinion of Berengarius himself.*

So that the main of the Controversie, wherein *Berengarius* and his Party where concern'd, lay in these two Negative Points, which are now the great Points in Controversie between *us*, and the Church of *Rome*.

1. They utterly opposed the *Paschasian* Error of a corporal Presence. 2. They absolutely denied any Essential change of the Nature and Substance of the Bread

and Wine : For now the Evil began to swel to a very high degree : Tho I do not yet find the word used, yet the *Doctrine* of Transubstantiation began now in this Age, in the 11. Century to be introduced, as an *Additional Doctrine*

which some endeavoured to obtrude upon the World, because they found it impossible for them to maintain their new *Paschasian* conceit of a corporal Presence, without maintaining lustily this *Newer* fancy of a *substantial change* of the Sacramental Elements.

But the extreame Novelty of this Opinion will easily appear from these following Considerations. 1. Cardinal *Bellarmino*, tho he seldome yields any thing that is against him, and when he doth 'tis with a sparing hand and against His own Will ; yet he confesseth that *Berengarius* was not reputed the first Inventer of his Error, as he is pleased to call it. *Durandus* the Bishop

of *Liege*, who wrote against *Berengarius*, and was his Contemporary, reckons it among those *old Heresies*, which he accused *Bruno* the Bishop of *Angers*, and *Berengarius* for reviving at that time. You must

*Isti enim licet inter se diversi sint, contra nos tamen unam habent penes sententiam, & argumentis nituntur eisdem. Undeque enim nihil de pane & vino mutari essentialiter asserunt. Id.*

*De sacr. Euch.*  
lib. 1. cap. 1.

*—Qualiter Bruno Andegavensis Episcopus, item Berengarius Turonensis, antiquas hereses modernis temporibus introducendo, &c. Durand. Ep. ad Henr. 1.*

must make the man allowance for the word, *Herisse*: It was a scolding expression which some used in those days for want of strong Arguments: But if you strip the Malice and Virulency off, the naked and true meaning is, that *Berengarius* held an *Ancient opinion*, and you may easily see it by comparing his *last judgement* with the Faith of the Ancients. 2. Tho' some private Doctors of the Roman Church strove at that time to Establish the Doctrine of the *Corporal* presence, and to Introduce the other, of a Substantial Change of the Holy Symbols in the Eucharist, yet these Innovations were so far from being generally received, that the Writers of those times, nay on that very side, sufficiently shew us, how distracted the world was about those points, and what vast numbers in several parts of Christendome sided with *Berengarius*. *Durandus* in his fierce Sanguinary Letter to *Henry* the first of *France*, call'd the *Berengarian Faith*, the *soul reproach of his whole most Noble Kingdom*. And hearing that the *Berengarians* desired to be heard in a publick Council, and that King *Henry* had summon'd a Council in order to it, he dissuaded him from that course, because (as he told the King) *He and others were very much afraid, lest the Berengarians should come off, and so the last State of things would be worse than the first*; therefore he besought the King to punish them unheard. After this Man, *Guitmund* tells us, that not the *Berengarians* only, but several others, though Enemies to the *Berengarians*, were very much divided in their sense about the Sacrament; some believing the Bread and Wine to be changed in part only; others imagining, that though there should be an entire change, yet where there are unworthy Receivers, the Sacrament Returns into Bread

H. and

*Totius nobilif-  
sime regni vestri  
(heu nimis tur-  
pe) opprobrium.*



Alger, Prolog.  
in *Librum de*  
*Sacrament.*

*and Wine again,* Some years after *Algerus*, speaks of no less than six different opinions about the Sacrament, besides that New Opinion which now begun to spread. *Some held no other change to be in the Symbols, than is in the Water at Baptism. Others held such an Union between Christ and the Symbols, as is between his Divinity and his Flesh. Others held a change of them to be into the Flesh and Blood not of Christ, but of some Son of Man who is acceptable unto God. Others believed that no change could be made by a wicked Priest. Others again, that though there were a change, yet it doth not continue, but that there is a return into Bread and Wine; And others again, that the Sacrament is Digested, and doth Corrupt after eating.* All these hot Disputes, which naturally sprang out of the Bowels of a gross opinion, so full of sensible difficulties, did plainly shew it to be a quite different thing from the Faith of the Ancient Church, when there were none of these quarrels because the prolyfick Doctrine which Naturally brought them into the World was not then in being: for had it been so, those many difficulties it necessarily yields, must have brought forth abundance of Disputes; especially in times when Men had a greater Liberty of disputing, than in *Berengarius* his Days, when the Pope and his party had usurped and did not stick to exercise a Tyrannical power over Princes themselves.

But of all these disagreeing parties, they that stuck to *Berengarius* was the most formidable Body to the innovating Faction. *Sigebert* shews that *all France abounded with them. William of Malmesbury*, though a hater of *Berengarius* his memory, tells us the same thing; so doth *Matthew Paris*; and *Matthew of Westminster*

Malmesbur.  
ed an. 1027.

minster faith, that Berengarius had almost corrupted (as his Language is) all the French, Italian, and English. And indeed the vast endeavours the Popes used to suppress the Ancient Faith, not in those Countries only, but in Germany too, plainly shews that their Innovations did not gain ground without meeting with strong opposition, how lightly soever Lanfrank and Guitmund speak of this matter, thinking thereby to disgrace Berengarius.

3. Nay, It is very observable, as a further plain sign of the Novelty of Transubstantiation, that the very Men who were the Patrons of it found so many perplexities in bringing it to its form, that they could not agree among themselves, but spake inconsistently, so that it cost them much time to mould the absurdity into the shape, wherein it appears now: And this I shall shew you as briefly as the Matter will give me leave, according to the Series of time: The best Key to open the whole thing, and the only way of doing right to Berengarius his Memory and Cause.

It being found by his Letters to Lanfrank then Abbot of Caen in Normandy, that he was against the Opinion of Paschasius, it was thought he held the Sacred Symbols to be nothing but empty Types and shadows; which, as I said, perhaps might have been his first Opinion. Hereupon, to make him an Example to all of that perswasion. Several Synods were called one after another, at Rome, and Verceil Anno 1050. under Leo the 9th. besides several other Assemblies which Mabillon mentions; in some of which Synods Berengarius was condemned, though absent. Now to give you my free thoughts, and to be just to all parties, very probable it is, that they

Mabillon Ana-  
lect. vet. Tom.  
2. p. 477. &c.

condemned him thus only upon his *First supposed* Opinion, and therein indeed they seem to have been *unanimous*. My Reasons are these.

*Citat. ab Usser  
de succ. & sta-  
tu, cap. 7. p.  
201.*

*Guilmund. de  
Sacram. lib. 3.*

*Mabillon Ana-  
leſ. Tom. 2.  
P. 487.*

1. For in the Synod at *Tours* under Pope *Victor II.* Anno 1056. where and when *Berengarius* appeared in person, he own'd his *Correct Opinion*, which in common construction amounts to no more but a Confession of the *Real Spiritual presence*, that the Bread and Wine do become *not umbratically, but truly the Flesh and Blood of Christ*. This doth not favour either Transubstantiation, or a Corporal Presence, and yet this gave satisfaction, so that he was *not only dismiss'd, but kindly received into the Communion of the Roman Church*, saith *Guilmund*.

2. *Mabillon* tells us of another short Confession which he saw in a Manuscript, and which is supposed to have been voluntarily drawn up by *Berengarius*, and presented to *Gregory the 7th.* Anno 1078. *that the Bread is the true Body of Christ, and the Wine his true Blood*. Nor doth this Confession reach to the business of Transubstantiation, without straining of it after a most violent manner, but only asserts the Truth of Christ's presence in the Sacrament in opposition to a bare Type or shadow; and therefore *Mabillon* himself doth acknowledg, that this Confession was *Artificially and cunningly worded*: And though all this fell short of the *New Opinion* then, so that it satisfied not the *bigotted Men at Rome*, yet it gave satisfaction to *others*, nay to the Pope himself, so that the Case of *Berengarius* was put off to further consideration another year.

Now if the matter was thus (as in all probability it was) I cannot see what hurt this doth *Berengarius's* Reputation, or why thy Romanists should take occasi-

on

on, hence to roar against him so for a perfidious and perjur'd person, when in these instances he declared his *ripened and deliberate* judgment, as far as the belief of a *Real presence* went, to which, as far as I can find, he was constant all his Life time. Nor do I see what advantage those Condemnations of him in his absence can bring to the Doctrine of Transubstantiation; because those Synods seem to have been so zealously concern'd only for the Catholick Doctrine of the *real presence*, and to have been unanimous as to that *sole point* not understanding rightly the sense either of *Scotus* or *Berengarius*. For when the business was carried further from a *real* to a *Corporal* presence, and from the belief of the main *Thing* to a belief of the *Modus*; I mean, when once it came to be urged that *Christ's Body* is *Substantially* and *Materially* in the Sacrament, and that by a *Substantial Conversion* of the very *Nature* of the Elements into it; when the matter was brought to this height *Berengarius's* very Judges blunder'd miserably, and were much divided about it, and inconsistent with themselves. Thus we are expressly told by *Zacharias Chrysopolitanus* in the next Age, *That there were some, yea perhaps many, who held the same Opinion, with Berengarius although they condemned him. In this thing they condemned him, that laying aside the Churches way of speaking he gave offence by his open manner of expressing himself. He did not observe the Language of Scripture, which frequently gives the Name of the thing signified to that which signifies it, especially in Sacraments.* This was the only quarrel which many had against him, who as to his Doctrine perfectly concurr'd and agreed with him. The truth is, *Berengarius* his

*Sunt nonnulli, imò forsàn multi, sed vix notari possunt, qui cum damnato Berengario idem sentiant, & tamen eundem cum Ecclesiâ damnant. In hoc videlicet damnant eum, quia formam verborum Ecclesiâ abiciens, nuditate sermonis scandalum movebat. Non sequebatur, ut dicunt, usum scripturarum, quæ passim res significantes tanquam significatas appellant, præsertim in Sacramentis. Zachar. Chrysopol. in concord. Evangel. lib. 4. cap. 156. BB. PP. Sac. 12.*

Judges were much to seek, what to say to him, or how to deal with him, when he appeared *personally* before them. Of which we have two plain instances in Two Synods at *Rome*, the one under *Nicolas* the Second *Anno 1059*: the other under *Gregory* the 7th. in *February 1079*.

The first of these two Synods was called chiefly about the Election of Popes, and against Simony, which was then a great *Trade at Rome*. Thither *Berengarius* was summon'd; and there he defended himself with

*Nicolaus Papa comperiens te docere panem vinumque altaris post Consecrationem sine materiali mutatione in pristinis essentis remanere, concessã tibi respondendi licentiã, &c.* Lankfranc. de Euchar. adv. Berengarium.

*Eique (Berengario) cum nullus valeret obistere, Albericus evocatur ad Synodum, &c.* Leo Ostiensis in Chronic. Cassinens. lib. 3. c. 33.

such irresistible Evidence of truth against a material change in the Sacrament, that he quite confounded the whole Synod though it consisted of no less than 113 Bishops. Not a man of them had a word to say against his Argu-

ments; so that they were forced to send for *Albericus*, a Cardinal Deacon, and a man of great reputation for his Learning: But he was so confounded too, that he desired a Weeks time to write against *Berengarius*. *Lankfranc* (who relates things partially, as the modern Romanists have done after him) not only omits the main of this story, but falsifies one part of it, as if *Berengarius* had not answer'd for himself, though the Pope had given him leave: Whereas *Leo Ostiensis*, who lived about that time relates the particulars of the story; and *Sigonius* confirms it; nay *Guttmund* himself, though a bitter Adversary to *Berengarius*, owns there was a conflict in that Synod: All which the Learned Bishop *Usher* has noted to my hands.

*De succes. & statu cap. 7.*

*Elegisti palam atque in audientia Sancti Concilii orthodoxam fidem non amore veritatis, sed timore mortis confiteri.* Lankfranc. de Euchar. in initio.

'Tis true, after all this *Berengarius* recanted in that Synod merely for fear of Death: An Argument that even great Men are subject

to



to humane frailty, especially in extremity of danger, tho' the scandal of his compliance falls upon that cause; which needed Fire and Faggot for its last Argument, and an Executioner instead of a Disputant to bring it to a Conclusion. But observe, what a *Blunder* these Men committed in this their Sanguinary attempt on behalf of the New Opinion. *Humbertus* was order'd by the Pope to draw up the Form of a Confession; the Synod approved it; and poor *Berengarius* to save his Life was forced to subscribe it: Now the Confession was this in short, *That the Bread and Wine*

*which are set upon the Altar, after Consecration are not only the Sacrament, but also the true Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; that (this true Body) is sensually not only in the Sacrament, but in*

*Truth handled and broken by the hands of the Priests, and ground or torn, by the Teeth of the Faithful.* This was very harsh; for it renders Christ liable to New Sufferings every day, it is inconsistent with the *finer* Notion of the presence of Christ's Body after the manner of a *Spirit*, it introduces such a *crass* sort of Eating as our Saviour rebuked the *Capernaïtes* for thinking of; it makes us to be not only Eaters of a *Sacrament*, but in very Truth Eaters of *Man's Flesh*. Therefore the present Church of *Rome* will not stand to these Expressions; divers of her Doctors formerly have renounced this definition as *erroneous and absurd*, though it was made by the Pope in *Cathedra* and in a publick Synod, the boldest Writers have been lamentably put to it how to give it a Tolerable construction: The *Glossator* upon the decrees confesseth, that if it be not *understood in a sound sense*, it leads into a greater *Herefie*, than what *Berengarius* himself was charged with. But the Doctrine being a

*Consentio agem sancta Romana Ecclesia— scilicet Panem & Vinum quæ in altari ponuntur, post Consecrationem non solum Sacramentum, sed etiam verum Corpus & Sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse, & sensualiter non solum Sacramento sed in veritate manibus Sacerdotum trahi, frangi, & fidelium dentibus atteri. Lanfranc. Alger. & alii multi.*

Novelty

Novelty, they knew not as yet how to express it warily enough. Caution comes by *experience*, and 'tis the meeting with objections that puts men upon a necessity of digesting their Notions better; therefore it is no wonder that the conceits of these Men were crude, because they were not yet thoroughly consider'd and disputed. As *time* and *debates* shew'd them their Errour, so they became sensible and asham'd of it. For tho' *Guitmund* endeavour'd to defend those raw Expressions, and with the coarsest and boldest Explications that I ever read, yet all he could do, could not make the thing palatable; the very men of those times that were concern'd for the New Opinion took distaste at the *definition*, as appears by this. For at the next Synod at *Rome*, under *Gregory* the Seventh, twenty years after when *Berengarius* was summon'd again, and another Confession was prepared for him to subscribe, this foul Notion of *sensually handling, breaking, and grinding the true body of Christ* was quite dropt; nor was a word of it mention'd; but the Doctrine they compell'd him to sign by frightening the poor Old Man with Death, was this, *That the Bread and Wine which are set upon the Altar are substantially converted into the true and proper and quickning Flesh and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and after Consecration are the true Body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, and which was offer'd up upon the Cross for the Salvation of the World, and which sits at the right hand of the Father, &c.* Here was the Paschasian Opinion improved now at length into *Transubstantiation*; and this they thought was a *Correct* Confession, not liable to so many Objections as they found that was which had been contrived by Pope *Nicolas*.

But yet it is observable, that *before* this New Confession was drawn up, it is acknowledged by the *Romanists* themselves that there were very warm *disputis* in this

this Synod, and that not so much about the *wording* of the Confession, as about the *Opinion* it self; many of them believing one thing and some another. *The greatest part of them affirmed the Bread and Wine after consecration to be Substantially changed into that Body of our Lord which was born of the Virgin: but some endeavoured to maintain that it is a Figure only, &c.* Indeed this party was over-power'd by the other; nevertheless it plainly appears, that neither the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, nor that of the Corporal presence prevailed so yet, but that there were *several* in this Synod who believed *neither*. Nay, tho some late Romanists have had the confidence to deny it, I see no reason we have to discredit those who have positively affirmed, that Pope Gregory himself doubted much in this point. Engelbert Archbishop of Treves (as Several of our Authors have observed) confesseth, *that this Gregory questioned, whether that which is received at the Lords Table be the True body and bloud of Christ.* Cardinal Benno who wrote the life of this Gregory tells us (and the Romanists themselves own the Book to be genuine) *that he commanded all the Cardinals to keep a strict Fast, to beg of God that he would shew by some Signe, whether the Church of Rome or Berengarius were in the right opinion touching the body of our Lord in the Sacrament.* Nay Conradus the Abbot of Ursperg relates, how that Synod which began at Mentz and was removed to Brescia Anno 1080 deposed this Gregory, as for many other things, so for this in particular, because he called in question the Catholick and Apostolick faith concerning the body of our Lord, and was an old disciple of the Heretick Berengarius (as they were pleas'd to speak.) To all which the sticklers for Transubstantiation have nothing to say, but this, that these are lies and calumnies invented by Benno and Conradus;

*Concil. Rom. sub  
Greg. 7.*

*Vide Concil.  
Brixien. Anno  
1080. apud Bi-  
nium.*

which is a *senseless* shift, and the same thing in effect as if they told us, they are resolved to contradict matter of fact though it be related by their own party, and disown every thing that hurts their cause, or but touches the credit of any one of their Popes, though he were a very wicked wretch, as every one knows this Pope Gregory, or *Hildebrand* was.

Mr. *Allix* hath lately given us a passage out of a Manuscript piece of this *Hildebrand* now in the Library at *Lambeth*, which is enough to put the matter out of controversy, and to justify these allegations: his words are these, *That whereas* (says he) *the Bread and Wine are said to pass into the substance of Christs Body and Blood, a question is wont to arise, how this conversion is made, whether it be a Formal or a Substantial change? That it is not a formal one is manifest, because the form of Bread and Wine remains: But whether it be a Substantial one, is not manifest.* I know some subtle notions and seeming inconsistencies do follow there, which may puzzle a Reader how to understand them: But what can any man gather from these words (*whether it be a Substantial change, is not manifest*) but this, that there were in this Pope Gregory's time several questions about the change in the Sacrament, and that he himself was not able to resolve them, but was inclined to believe, that the change is *not* Substantial.

That I cannot give you a more perfect and exact account of all the particulars relating to this Synod and this Pope, is, because some have been very careful to suppress them, and have given us no other account of them than what they pleas'd themselves. And indeed the *Age* wherein these things were transacted was so barbarous, and the *Books* I have searched are of that sort, that no man would willingly moyl in such a barren study, but out of an earnest desire to pick out what matter

*Præfat. ad determinat. Joan. Paris. pag. 7.*

*Cum autem Panis & Vinum dicantur a cunctis Sanctis, & a fidelibus creditur transire in Substantiam Corporis & Sanguinis Christi, quæ sit illa conversio, an formalis an Substantialis quære solet? Quod autem formalis non sit, manifestum est, quod forma Panis & Vini remanet. Utrum vero sit Substantialis; perspicuum non est.*

matter of *Faſt* he could, and to diſgeſt it right: which is the only buſineſs before me now in tracing the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation. And upon the whole you cannot but eaſily diſcern, what *ſhifts* the Patrons of it were put to, what *Arts* they were forced to uſe, what *perplexities* they found in their way, what *Heats and diſtractions* hapned among them, before they could make it be belived in the Roman Church her ſelf, tho' in times that were not only ſcandalous for Ignorance, and conſequently very Receptive of the groſſeſt Errors; but Infamous alſo for all thoſe many violences and oppreſſions, which commonly attend a blind Zeal. Many even of the Church of *Rome* verily thought that then the *Diver* was let looſe, and that prediction fulfilled *Apocal. 20.* that after the expiration of a thouſand years Satan ſhould be looſed out of his Priſon, and ſhould go about to deceive the Nations which are in the four quarters of the Earth. Such commotions and convulſions then hapned in the world, eſpecially in the Papacy of this Gregory, as if the Prince were come a broad with ſtormes and tempeſts to mingle Heaven and Earth together. This was the Pope of whom ſuch *Horrid*, yet *true* Characters were given by ſome of the very Romiſh Communion, that it would weary one to tranſcribe but the half part. The Pope who decreed, that the *Biſhop* of Rome alone is to be called *Universal*; that He alone can depoſe all *Biſhops*, that He only can uſe the Imperial Arms, that all Princes are to kiſs his feet, that 'tis Lawful for him to depoſe Emperors, that an unlimited power of Ordination is in him, that no Synod may be called a general Council without his command, that no Chapter nor Book is to be accounted canonical without his Authority, that there is no appeal from his Sentence, that he can be judged by none, that the Roman Church never did, never can Err, that by his leave Sub-

*Vidr Ragſtir.*  
Gregor, 7. lib.  
2.



jects may call their Princes to account, that he can absolve Subjects from their Allegiance, and the like.

Notwithstanding all these terrible usurpations many were Thunder-proof still. One Synod at *Worms* condemn'd the Pope, another at *Pavia* excommunicated him; a third at *Brescia* depos'd him. Setting aside those Flatterers at the Court of *Rome*, who did not stick to prostitute their Consciences to their Interest and Ambition: men of all ranks, orders, and degrees made the world ring with their out-cries. Princes began now to resist the Pope, being too late sensible, that what power their excessive zeal had given him, he armed himself with against his over kind Benefactors, so that there was no such Enemy to Crowns, as the Tripple Diadem: the Bishops finding themselves robb'd of their just authority, by one Usurper, oppos'd him to his Face. The whole considerate world Groan'd and Wept for the abominations in *Babylon*, complain'd of the Errours and Corruption which had crept into the Church, longed for a Redress of abuses, and would fain have had a Reformation, but could not obtain it, being hindred by a potent Faction, who should have Cured the Common Disease, but were themselves the greatest Plague.

Among other Innovations, the New Doctrine of the Sacrament was still oppos'd. For to go on: Tho' *Berengarius* died about nine years after the Synod at *Rome*, yet the Truth expired not with him. I confess in the Twelfth Century the word Transubstantiation was used by *Stephen* who was Bishop of *Autun* in *Burgundy*, about Anno 1120. and as far as I can yet find, the First that used it. And it is no wonder if the Doctrine which went along with it found entertainment, when it was sent abroad by those, whose Favour some were willing to expect, and whose displeasure all had Reason

son to be afraid of. Nevertheless it made not such a progress, but that divers Men of Note had the Heart and Honesty to oppose it still; I mean in the Western Churches; for to other Countries it was as yet perfectly a stranger, whatever some have vainly pretended to the contrary.

Several of *Our Writers* have so critically observed the variety of Opinions about the Sacrament in this Age, that I cannot hope to discover any thing New to Men of such sort of Learning; nor indeed do they need it. For your sake therefore who may not be so well acquainted with the state of those times, I shall content my self in giving you a Concise account of it, as a Collector for the most part, or rather as an *Abbreviator* of what has been already Noted by others, whose Books have not been yet answer'd, that I know of.

*Heriger* Abbot of *Lobes* in *Germany*, who dyed in the beginning of this Twelfth Century, gather'd together many things which had been written by *Catholick Fathers* of the body and blood of *Christ* against *Paschasius Rhabertus*. *Thuanus* in his Epistle Dedicatory to *Hen.* the Fourth tells him, that *Bruno* Archbishop of *Treves* expelled several *Berengarians* out of *Liege*, *Antwerp* and other places thereabouts; and that this was Anno 1106. (for so Bishop *Usher* and *Abbertino* say it should be read, because *Bruno* was not Archbishop there till after the year 1105) *Rupertus* Abbot of *Deutsch* in *Germany* about Anno 1110. is acknowledg'd by several Romanists themselves to have been for the mystical Union I spake of before, against Transubstantiation and the Corporal Presence; and the thing is clear out of divers places in his Writings. *Honorius* of *Augustodunum* about Anno 1120 is charged by *Thomas Waldensis* (under the Character of the Author *de Officiis*) for a Favourer of *Berengarius* his Doctrine, and one of *Rabanus* his Bread.

*Sigebert. de Script. Eccles.*

*Usher de success. & Stat. c. 7. Abbert. de Euchar. p. 959.*

*Sive gemma animae ext. in BE. PP.*

Prolog. ad Li-  
br. de Sacram.

Bread Eaters. *Algerus* who Flourisht Anno 1130. (a Man so cryed up by the Romanists, for Writing against *Berengarius*, and for Transubstantiation) reckons up, as I Noted before, *Six several Opinions* about the Sacrament that were common in his time, besides that which he held himself. And, as I observed too, *Zacharias Chrysopolitanus*, who was towards the year 1160. tells us, that there were some, perhaps many, who then held *Berengarius* his Opinion, though they blamed him for his *Unscriptural* and *Uncommon* way of expressing himself. \* *Peter Lombard* about the same time, having reckon'd up various Doctrines about this matter, and among the rest that against Transubstantiation in particular, though he himself held the *Corporal Presence*, yet as to the question about the *Change* of the Symbols, he plainly confess, as *Gregory* the Seventh had done, that he could not tell whether it be *Substantial*, or a change of another Nature.

\* Si autem queritur, qualis sit illa conversio : An formalis, an Substantialis, an alterius generis ? Definire non sufficio. P. Lombard. Sententiar. lib. 4. dist. 11.

But that which convinceth me more, that the Opposers of the New Opinion were very numerous and formidable at this time is, because the Court of *Rome* began presently after this to use *Terrible* and *Outragious* Methods against them, and for many years together carried on these Methods with a very quick Hand : Which as it shews plainly that other Arguments failed them now, and that they had no security left them but downright *Violence*, and *Oppression* ; so it shews too what great *Fears* they were under, least the Old Opinion should prevail again, notwithstanding all their endeavours hitherto. Witness their proceedings against the *Albigenses* ; of whom I may hereafter give you a faithful Account ; but at present it shall be sufficient for me to tell you from some of the Romanists themselves that they were such a sort of people as were afterwards upon the Reformation called *Protestants*. All that dis-

claimed

claimed the Corruptions, or dissented from the Errours of the Church of Rome in those days, were comprehended under the Common Name of the *Albigenses*. The Numbers of them were so vast, that \* *Reinerus* their Persecutor ingenuously confest, there was hardly any Nation, wherein this *Sect* (as he call'd them) was not. Let us now take a short view of the proceedings against them.

*Petrus Cisterciensis Monachus, qui de Albigensibus visa explorataque in historiam retulit, Innocentio tertio Pontifici dicatam, Hæricos Tolosates, Albigenses vocari*

*atque aliarum Urbium & oppidorum, eorumque protectores communi nomine consuevisse ait ab usu loquentium, Marian. Prefat. ad Lucan. Tudenf.*

\* *Ferè enim nulla est terra, in quâ hac secta non sit. Reiner. cont. Wald. c. 4.*

In the time of *Alexander* the Third Anno 1163. a Synod met at *Tours* in France chiefly against the Emperor *Frederick* and *Victor* the Anti-Pope; in which Synod a Canon was made against the *Albigenses*, that no Man should dare under the dreadful pain of an Anathema *Can. 4.* to allow them House or Harbour, or have any Commerce with them, or shew them any kind of Humanity. The reason of this severity was grounded on strong jealousies they had of the dangers that might come from the great growth of these *Albigensis*; whose Heresie (as they said in the beginning of that Canon) had spread like a gangrene from *Toulouse* and the parts about it, through *Gascogny* and several other Provinces. Anno 1170. a certain Cardinal was sent into the Province of *Toulouse* to suppress them by force of Arms. This course failing another Synod in France was held against them. Anno 1176. which *Binius* calls a *Gallican* Council indefinitely; but *Labbey* specifies the place, calling it *Concilium Lumbarense*, or a Synod at *Lombers*, in the Archbishoprick of *Toulouse*.

*Usser de suceff. & stat. p. 240.*

In this Age infinite Numbers of Christians, in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and England made Publick professi-

*Quippe in latissimis Galliar, Hispaniar, Italiar, Germaniarq; Provinciis tam multi hac peste (Publicanorum) infecti esse dicuntur, ut secundum Prophetam, multiplicata esse super numerum arena videbantur. Guil. Novoburg. a clar. Usserio citat. de suceff. cap. 8. p. 238.*

on of the Old Faith against Transubstantiation; tho they were called by several Names, for several Reasons; as the *Albigenses*, *Catharists*, *Leonists*, *Publicans*, *Patarens*, and divers Names more, which their Enemies fixt upon them. But chiefly they abounded in the Southern Parts of *France*: And seeing Force and open Violence had hitherto had very little Success against them, at last they were \* Anathematiz'd by Pope *Alexander* the Third and his party *Anno* 1179. in the *Lateran* Council at *Rome*. But being neither daunted nor frightned at this Thunderbolt, one *Henry*, before Abbot of *Clairvaux* and now a Cardinal, was sent by the Pope into *Gascogne* against them *Anno* 1181. where he over-powred them indeed by his great Army; but to no purpose; for assoon as they were got out of his Clutches, they openly profess their Faith again. *Anno* 1182. a great many of these poor people were burnt in several Parts of *France*; and applications were made to *Hen.* the Second (under pretence of a *Vision*) that he would do the same thing in *England*: But he would not suffer it to be done in his Country, though there were abundance of that persuasion there, saith † *Hoveden*.

\* Quia in Gasconia, Albigenſis & partibus Tolofanis & aliis locis, ita Hereticorum, quos alii Catharos, alii Patrinos, alii Publicanos, alii aliis Nominibus vocant invaluit damnata perverſitas, ut jam non in occulto, ſicut alibi nequitiam ſuam exerceant, ſed errores ſuos publicam manifeſtent, & ad conſenſum ſuum

ſimplices, attrahant & infirmos; eas & defenſores eorum & receptares Anathema decernimus ſubjacere. Concil. Lateran. Can. 27.

¶ Henricus a Papa Alexandro miſſus fuit in Gasconiam, ad delendam hereticorum perfidiam altaris Sacramentum non credentium. Guel. Nungiac. — Qui predicationis verbo militum peditumque copias undique contraxit preſatoſque hereticos expugnavit. Verum id fruſtra. Nam ut ſui compotes facti ſunt, ſe in erroris priſtini volutabro revolverunt. Robert. Altiſſiordor. citat. ab Uſſer. ibid. p. 244.

† Tempus vero ne quo hac viſio contrigerat, erat tunc quando Publicani conturebantur in quam pluribus locis per regnum Francia, quod Rex (Henricus) nullo modo fieri permiſit in terra ſua, licet ibi eſſent perplurimi. Roger. de Hoveden. in fine Anni 1182.

It is no great honour to the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, that when it came into the world it soon cost Blood; nor could it prevail till the party which upheld it made its way by Fire and Sword. The truths of Christianity were not propagated by such barbarous Methods



methods; for there is such a natural loveliness in Truth, as renders it worthy of all acceptation: and so much the more, for not standing in need of Sanguinary proceedings. But error is not easily supported any other way; and 'tis a sign of a false Doctrine, when it must be forced upon the conscience by cutting of throats. However the Persecutions that were now, did this good, that the true Faith was confirmed by New Martyrdomes; and recovered some of that Lustre under butchering Popes, which Christianity had gained under Nero.

*Lucius* the Third was now Pope, who in the year 1183 (as *L'abbey* computes it) issued out another Anathema, for the abolishing of divers Hereses (so called) which in those times grew in most parts of the World; and he particularly mention'd the *Catharists*, the *Patarens*, and those that were called the *Humble Men*, or the *Poor of Lions*; that is, the *Albigenses*, who stily opposed, among other Errors, that of Transubstantiation. One outward Advantage which did help to make them so very Numerous and Spreading was the Protection they found from divers Princes and Great Men, particularly *Raymund* Earl of *Toulouse*, and *Peter* King of *Aragon*, as † *Joannes Mariana* doth confess: And with this agrees the Account given of this matter by the Ingenious \**Thuanus*. || *Jacobus de Rebir*, the French Kings Secretary, adds, that they were in great Esteem, above the ordinary Priests, for Wit and Learning: that they were Honoured by their very Enemies; that they were freed from common Burdens and Impositions; and that every ones safety seem'd to have been wrapped up in theirs.

*Tolosani primi Comitit, deinde Ruzensis, Biterarum & Convenarum. Accessit Petri Aragonie regis patrocinium. Joan. Marian. prefat. ad Lucum. Tudentem. Vide & Concil. Lavaurese Anno 1274. Item Math. Paris in Joanne. \* Thuan Hist. lib. 6. ad An. 1550. || Citat. in Catal. Test. pag. 1526.*

*Ad abolendum diversarum heresum pravitatem, quæ in plexisque mundi partibus modernis capis temporibus pullulare, &c. --- Imprimis Catharos & Patarenos & eos qui se Humiliatos vel Pauperes de Lugduno falso nomine mentiuntur, Passaginos, Joscipinos, Arnaldistas, perpetuo decernimus Anathemati subiacere. Lucii 3. Decret. Labbæi Concil. Tom. 10.*

† *Nec mirum tam latè eam labem fuisse diffusam, cum Albigensium secta a primo exortu principium virorum (quæ magna Pernicies est) favore fuerit armata:*

The growing interest, and great strength, which the Adverfaries of Transubstantiation now had, intruded the Court of *Rome* so, that in the Papacy of *Innocent* the Third they were forced to the most *extream*, but most *dishonourable* shifts: And even when they had so much business in their Hands about the recovering of *Palestine* from the *Turks*. *The Hereſe at Tolouſe being ſo increaſed* † (ſaith *Platina*) *there was need, not of Diſputations; but of Arms too.* And the Zealots for Transubstantiation had now got a *Tool* for their turn at *Rome*; this *Innocent* the Third, made Pope *Anno* 1198. a young Man, about Thirty years of Age, Hot, Fierce, Imperious, and (as far as I find by his Speeches in the *Lateran*) Ignorant enough. This youngſter ſoon laid about him, and raiſed a long and bloody War againſt the *Albigenſes*. *Thuanus* in his Sixth Book ſhews particularly, what outrages his General *Simon Montfort* committed in ſeveral places of *France*, Hanging, Beheading, Burning, and making the moſt horrible Slaughters wherever he went; throwing into the Flames at *Paris* ſeveral Priests too, that were of the *Albigenſes* perſwaſion. The way of dealing with them in *England* was, to burn them in the Shoulders or Foreheads with a Red Hot Iron: And the ſame Author ſhews you, how the Pope uſed the Earl of *Tolouſe*, and the King of *Aragon* alſo. And *Binius* tells us, out of *Mathew Paris*, how that the Earldome of *Tolouſe* was given to *Montfort* for almoſt twelve years ſervice againſt the *Albigenſes*, after the War againſt them had been firſt begun by Pope *Innocent*: As great a War ſaith *Thuanus*, as that was which was raiſed againſt the *Saracens*: But, as he ingenuouſly acknowledgeth the Reſult of the War was this, that great Numbers of the *Albigenſes* were Kill'd, Routed, Stript of their Eſtates and Dignities, and ſcatter'd up and down into ſeveral quarters, but not convinced by theſe outrageous Courſes.

After

† Non enim diſ-  
ceptionibus  
verborum tan-  
tum, verum eti-  
am armis opus  
fuit; adeo im-  
leverat tanta  
hereſis (apud  
Toloſam.) Pla-  
tina in vita  
Innocentii 3.

*Binius nota in  
Concil. Lateran.*

*Thuan. Prefat.*

After all which, Anno 1215 (the year before God took this Bloody Pope out of the World) that Great Council met at the *Lateran*, wherein the Doctrine of Transubstantiation was decreed in exprefs Terms.

It had been a wonder indeed, if at last one poor Decree could not have been got for the establishing of it, after so many years had been spent in Arts and Violence first to form it, and then to bring it to some perfection. Yet I must desire you to note, that this

Decree was the *Pope's* only, not the *Council's*. *Platina* tells us, that nothing was openly Decreed by this Council, though many things were proposed to their consideration. And *Mathew Paris* assures us, that the

*Venerè multa tum quidem in consultationem, nec decernit tamen quicquam aperte posuit. Platina de vita Innocent. 3.*

*...Facto prius ab ipso Papa exhortationis sermone, recitata sunt in pleno Concilio capitula 700, quæ aliis placabilia, aliis videbantur Onerosa. Math. Par. in Joanne ad Ann. 1215.*

*Pope* having made a Speech to them, *Seventy Chapters or Heads* (which now are called the Decrees of that Council) were read before them, which were acceptable to some, but seemed burdensome to others. 'Tis plain, that there are no Acts of this Council extant, which shew in the least, that any of the things proposed were so much as debated; but the Council rose before they had consider'd matters, or came to any Solemn Conclusion after a Synodical manner. The Reasons of it seem to have been, partly because there were then Wars in *Italy* (as *Platina* and others relate) which extremely frightened that *Pope*; and partly too, because some of the Council were dissatisfied as to the Reasonableness of the *Popes* Proposals (as *Mathew Paris* well observed) and it seems not improbable, but that they might be dissatisfied as to the Doctrine of Transubstantiation in particular. I will not be positive in this, but leave it to be consider'd by Learned Men: But the ground of my Conjecture is this, because *Sabellicus* speaking of this *Lateran* Council expressly affirms, that at that ve-

*Sunt & Crucigeri Lateranensi conventu probati supremo Innocentii Anno, qui salvis fuit humana duodecies centesimus ac quintus decimus, quum pestilens esset Romæ Hæresis orta, magnusque ex ea motus extitisset, multi qui tum foris in urbe erant, cruce signati, in Syriam, credo, ituri, aut certe inde reversi, Innocentii hortatu pestem illam in hiras gliscientem naviter extinxerunt; quidam Albigensem ab aurore, ut reor, eam nuncuparunt Hæresim. Sabellic. Ænc. ad. 9. lib. 5. p. 736. edit. Basil.*

*ry time the pestilent Hæresie of the Albigenes (as he terms it) appeared at Rome, and that a great Commotion hapned there upon it, which the Pope was forced to put an End by the help of the Crucigeri, that is, a sort of Souldiers that had listd themselves under the Sign of the Cross for an Ex-*

pedition into the Holy Land. And if it were thus, as very likely it was, 'tis no wonder that the Pope and his great Council should break up in some haste. If you ask, how it might come to pass, that the Popes Decrees were not publicly opposed while the Council was yet sitting? The Reason is evident enough. This *Innocent* was a most Proud, Insolent, Cruel Man: One that had deposed I know not how many Bishops, that had deprived *Otho* the Emperour of the Romans, that had huff'd *Henry* the Emperour of *Constantinople*, that had Excommunicated King *John* of *England*; that had arrogantly treated the Kings of *Bohemia*, *Portugal*, *Sicily*, *France* and *Aragon*; that had robb'd the Earl of *Toulouse* of all his Possessions; that had Barbarously used the *Albigenes* by the flashing and burning Zeal of the *Crucigeri*; and that now, in the time of the *Lateran* Council, was strengthned at *Rome* with Great Numbers of them, ready to do any mischief that he should command them. And then, how could it be expected, but that the whole Council would be over-awed into silence, supposing any of them were against the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*? Especially if you consider, that in the Third Head of his Proposals he had Condemned all Hereticks, all that were but suspected of Hæresie, all that shew'd any Humanity to Hereticks; not excepting Princes themselves, over whom he

he claimed a Power, and declared his purposes not only to Excommunicate them, but moreover to absolve their Subjects from their Allegiance, and to give away their Territories.

By this it appears, what little Reason our Romanists have to pretend the Authority of this *Lateran* Council for their beloved Transubstantiation, and how little they gain by it upon a strict Examination of the matter. After all the Arts and Toyl of so many years, to bring this strange conceit into some shape, and to Cure those Flaws which all discerning and upright Men found in the formation of it: After such various Methods used to get a Decree for it, and to obtrude it upon an easie World in times of Ignorance: After so many Hostile and Barbarous Courses practiced in several Parts of Christendome upon those who saw the falsehood of it, and would not submit to the Innovation: After so much Blood shed, and so many Lives taken away in that unjust Cause: The Patrons of it having got at length a promising opportunity of settling it in this Great Council at *Rome*, and under the awe of a most Heady and Insolent Pope, they providentially mist of their designs at last. In *Rome* it self many opposed it with Rage, probably divers of the Council did not at all like it; to be sure they rose without confirming it by a Synodical Decree; so that it had no Authority but the Pope's own, and that Pope's too, who warranted Rebellion and Treason in Subjects, and made it the great business and Delight of his own Life during his Papacy.

But Threats would not do the work yet. For *Mathew Paris* tells us, that Anno 1223 the Albigenes chose one Bartholomæus their Anti-Pope, in Bulgaria, Croatia, Dalmatia, and those parts about Hungary; where their Opinion prevailed so, that many Bishops and others agreed

Math. Par. in  
Hen. 3. ad An.  
1223.



greed with them. Moreover, that *Anno* 1234. they had Bishops of their persuasion in *Spain*, and that an infinite Number of them was kill'd in *Alemannia* in *Germany* the same year. Besides, the Writings of *Lucas Tudenſis* about *Anno* 1240. and of *Petrus Pilichdorffius* about *Anno* 1450. both against the *Albigenses*, do plainly shew, that notwithstanding the Decree of *Innocent* the Third, the Doctrine of Transubstantiation was still vigorously resisted in very many places of the World, and even where the Church of *Rome* carried great Authority. But I must not forget a memorable Story of *Guido Grossus*, Archbishop of *Narbonne* *Anno* 1268. because it shews, how little He and the Divines at *Paris* then hearkned to the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, notwithstanding all that had been done by *Pope Nicolas* the Second, *Gregory* the Seventh, and *Innocent* the Third; and when you have consider'd it well, I leave you to judge too by the way, whether the judgment of the Popes, tho' in *Council*, was in those days thought *Infallible*.

*Guido Grossus* going to see *Pope Clement* the Fourth, his Old familiar acquaintance, and discoursing in his Court with a certain Learned person, could not forbear declaring his sense about the Eucharist, which was directly repugnant to Transubstantiation. For his Opinion was that *the Body of our Lord is not essentially in the Eucharist, but only as the thing signified is under the sign*: To which it seems he added, that *this was the Celebrated Opinion at Paris*. After *Guido's* return home, *Clement* heard of this, and wrote him a chiding Letter, wherein he insinuated also, that if he persisted in that Opinion, he would be in danger of losing his *Dignity* and *Office*: This Letter the Learned *Albertinus* hath given us a Copy of out of a Manuscript in *Pope Clement's* Register; and the thing is further attested by *Monſieur l'Arroque*

*P. Arrouque* in his History of the Eucharist, lately rendred into English, and just fallen into my hands, where you may see it at large; though the principal part of it is, what I have already related. I add out of *both* that though the Archbishop answer'd the Popes Letter with some Caution and Fear, yet in his Answer he said enough to clear and justifie his own Opinion against Transubstantiation. For saith he, the Body of Christ is so called Four ways. 1. In respect of *Similitude*, as the Species of Bread and Wine, and that *improperly*. 2. It is taken for the *Material* Flesh of Jesus Christ, which was taken of the Blessed Virgin: And this signification is proper. 3. For the *Church*, in regard of its Mystical Union (with Christ.) 4. For the *Spiritual* Flesh of Jesus Christ, which is Meat indeed; And it is said of those who Eat this Flesh *Spiritually*, that they do receive the Truth of the Flesh and Blood of our Saviour, which, as it overthrows the Dream of Transubstantiation, so it is the very Language of the Ancients, *Clement Alexandrinus*, *S. Jerome*, *S. Ambrose*, *S. Austin*, and others, who did distinguish Christ's *Natural* Body which was of the Virgin, from that *Spiritual* Body which is receiv'd at the Eucharist; as you may see plainly in that excellent little Book called the *DIALLECTICON*, which God be thanked is now reprinted at *London*. A Book written as Bishop *Cofins* tells us, by Dr. *Poinet* Bishop of *Winchester* a little before Bishop *Jewels* Apology came out. *Cassander* and other Divines abroad Extolled it deservedly. The late *Sa. Oxon* (if I may rank him among such Company) takes notice of it; but says withal, I have not the Book by me: And I verily believe it; for had he ever seen or read that Book, I am apt to think he would hardly have wrote his own; at least, not that part of it; the force whereof is quite destroy'd by the *Dialecticon*.

But

But not to digress further, especially when I am near the End of my business. Though in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries Transubstantiation was the common Tenent, yet I cannot find that it past in those times for a certain *Article of Faith* determined by the Publick Authority of the Church, but as a *probable Opinion* only, as they thought then. Those many difficult Consequences (about *Eating, Digesting, Voiding* the Sacrament, whether by *Men or Beasts*, and the like) which the subtle Schoolmen met with in managing that Opinion, do plainly shew that the thing was not yet cleared beyond all Reason of doubting, nor settled by any Authority, which might be presumed sufficient to require their submission. It is well known, that the Famous Doctor of Sorbon. *Johannes Parisiensis* near the year 1300. though he profess to hold Transubstantiation, yet he held it only as a current *Opinion*; he was so far from urging it as an *Article of Faith*, that he proposed another way of explaining the real presence, viz. that *Mystical Union* of the Sacred Symbols with Christ's person, which *Rupertus* and others had spoke of long

Vide determinat. Joan. edit. London. 1685.

In praesentia Collegii Magistrorum in Theologia dictum est, utrumque modum ponendi Corpus Christi esse in altari, tenet pro Opinione probabili, & approbat utramque per... & dicta Sanctorum. Dicit tamen quod nullus est determinatus per Ecclesiam, & ideo nullum cadere sub fide; & si aliter dixisset, minus bene dixisset, & qui aliter dicunt, minus bene dicunt, & qui determinate assereret alterutrum praecise cadere sub fide, incurreret sententiam Canonis, vel Anathematis. Censura Facultatis Theologiae Paris.

before. And when the Doctors of Divinity at *Paris* had Examined his determination, they gave this Censure of him at the End of it, 'that he had done 'well in delivering both as probable Opinions, not so determined by the Church as to be 'thought either of them an Article of Faith: and (say they) if he had said otherwise, he would not have said so well; and they who do speak otherwise speak amiss, and whosoever shall peremptorily assert either Opinion to be precisely of Faith ought to incur the Sentence of the Canon, or Excommunication.

I shall not need to trouble you with more Observations, how the opposite Doctrine to Transubstantiation passed on still through a crowd of Adversaries down to the times of the *Reformation*, which began presently after *Anno 1500*. You find ready at hand, in the Treatise of Transubstantiation I mentioned before, in Bishop *Cofins*, *Albertine*, and *l'Arroque* ( not to speak of any more ) not only the Names of some particular persons, but an account too of Great Numbers of people in *Bohemia*, *France*, *England*, &c. Who notwithstanding all Threats and Oppressions persisted still in the True Faith, and transmitted it down to Posterity. I shall only add, what the Learned Monsieur *Alixius* ( now in *England* ) hath particularly proved in his Preface to the Determination of *Joannes Parisiensis* ; that though the Doctrine of Transubstantiation prevailed among the fantastical School-men from time to time, yet they found so many perplexities in it, as did put all the Wits they had upon the Tenters; the most sedate and intelligent Men among them own'd it only as an *Opinion* they had receiv'd by *Tradition*, not as an Article of Faith declared by any Authentick and Obligatory Decrees of the *Church*: And being a common Opinion they would not contradict it; though some of them affirm'd, that *the Permanency of the Substance of the Bread and Wine is not impossible*, nor contrary to Reason or to the Authority of the Bible; nay, that it was the most *Rational Opinion* so that had they been Popes, they would have defined it. As for the definitions of *Nicolas* the Second, and *Gregory* the Seventh, they could not see how those did inforce the belief of the Annihilation of the Substances of the Elements; but of a Substantial *Presence* only, which they thought might easily be admitted, though *Permanency* of the Substance in the Symbols

should be believed too. As for the Decree of *Innocent the Third*, they laid no great weight upon it, because it was not the deliberate and Synodical determination of the whole Council, and I would fain know, whether our present Romanists will insist upon the Authority of it, seeing it asserts with a Witness the *Deposing Power*; which the *Gallican Clergy* did *Anno 1682*. Condemn, as Erroneous, and Injurious to Princes. As for the Council of *Constance* which Condemned *Wicleffe* for denying the Corporal presence and Transubstantiation *An. 1415*. it was ever thought by many Romanists themselves to be of *questionable* Authority, because it Condemned and Deposed the Pope too. And as touching the Council of *Florence Anno 1439*. However the Doctrine of the Sacrament was offer'd to their consideration; yet nothing of Transubstantiation was in the least *Defined* then.

This is the Truth of the Case, as far as I can find upon the strictest Enquiry. By which it appears, not only what an Innovation the Mysterious Notion of Transubstantiation is, but also how this Innovation increas'd and swell'd about 130 years ago, at the Thirteenth Session of the Council of *Trent*; when that which before had been the private *Opinion* of some fanciful Men, was adopted into the Church as a necessary Article of *Faith*, that *by the Consecration of the Bread and Wine ther is a Conversion of their whole Substance into the Substance of Christ's Body and Blood*; and thereupon they Define that *whosoever should deny either of these Two Things*; 1. *That the whole Christ, his Body and Blood together with his Soul and Divinity is truly, really, and Substantially contain'd in the Eucharist*: Or, Secondly that *shall deny this wonderful Conversion of the whole Substance of Bread into Christ's Body, and of the whole Substance of Wine into his Blood, the Species only of Bread and Wine remaining*



*maining, should be Anathematiz'd.* Here were two New Opinions made Articles of Faith by a strange Synodical Definition: The Corporal Presence, and Transubstantiation. The First, as I have shew'd you, was started by *Paschasius Ratbertus* in the 9th. Century; the other was introduced in the Eleventh: Both very Late and Modern Imaginations in Comparison of the True Faith of the Church which was, by all that I can discover, held without interruption for about the space of the first 800 years, and is still profess'd by us of the Church of *England*, and by other Protestant Churches. The Two Opinions I speak of, were no sooner vended, but they were vigorously Oppos'd, as New Errours: And though by Arts and Violence, with the help of Time, they did spread in some Parts, yet still they were but private Mens *Opinions*: And though afterwards they came to be Countenanced by some that were in Authority, yet they were not Definitions agreed upon after a Synodical manner by any Council of unquestionable Authority. Nay, though they were espoused by some fierce Popes, and for that sole Reason were maintain'd by divers Doctors of the Church of *Rome*, contrary to what others believed, yet at the same time those Doctors reckoned them not (especially that of Transubstantiation) among the necessary Articles of the Christian Faith. They were made so by the late pack'd Council of *Trent*; who by so doing necessarily caused irreparable breaches in the Churches of Christ, and brought a visible Scandal upon Christianity it self by establishing such nauseous Opinions, as are enough to turn any Mens Stomachs, that will but hearken to their Senses and Reason.

I know the Council of *Trent* did deliver this Doctrine, as the Catholick Faith, *which had always been believed*

by the Church (as they were pleased to say) and because they said it, the Romanists generally think themselves obliged to believe it. But the Novelty is Evident; and 'twere no impossible matter to shew, that even since the Council of *Trent*, several Great Men in the Church of *Rome* have not been pleased with it. Mr. *Alixius* mentions Two besides the now living Author of the late Learned Treatise of Transubstantiation, viz. *Petrus de Marca*, and *Barnes* a Benedictine, who held that Transubstantiation is not now an Article of Faith. Nay, to be free with you, the present Romanists are so troubled with such intricate and inseparable difficulties throughout the whole point, that I am tempted to believe many of them secretly wish it had been otherwise defined: But now it is done, they will not Retract for fear of losing the Credit of Infallibility, which supports all.

*Alix. ubi supr.*  
pag. 80.

Sir, I promised you in the beginning of this Letter to take notice of what hath been said upon this Point in some late Pamphlets; and the Task will be the less, because the Learned Author of the *Veteres Vindicati* has been before hand with me, who have been forced to wait till this Point fell in my way, in that Historical Account which I undertook in my First Letter. However I will not make this Swell, but desire your Patience till another time: Perhaps some brisk Gentleman may afford me some New Work; and then I may Answer all under one.

In the mean time I have a request to you. My Second Letter you know about *Images*, was quarrell'd with by one, to whom I gave a Civil Return, without receiving yet any sort of Reply, that I know of. 'Tis odds but he will be Quarrelling with this too, because it bears hard upon a Mighty Point of Controversie.

versie. Therefore if you chance to know him, be pleas'd to whisper him in the Ear, that if he will keep close to matter of Fact, and use Genuine Authors, and forbear Reproachful and Unhandsome Language, and Deal with me like a Scholar, he shall certainly find me a fair Adversary. But if he shall run out into things that are impertinent and quite out of the way, you may wish him to have a care, lest some Honest *Protestant Footman* give him a Breathing. I am,

S I R,

*Your most Faithful and*

May 11. 1688.

*Obedient Servant.*

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**F I N I S.**

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